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THE ELECTROENCEPHALOGRAPH AND THERAPY OF CRIMINAL PSYCHOPATHS

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I

INTRODUCTION

The strikingly high percentage of dysrhythmic electroencephalograms reported in a previous study⁽¹⁾ of psychopaths at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners indicates that one essential factor in nearly all psychopathic personalities is a disturbed cortical function. The present study is an effort to explore the therapeutic possibilities of pharmacologic and other agents on psychopaths using the EEG as a check. At the same time it affords an opportunity to study the electro-physiologic disturbances in psychopaths and to shed some light on the etiology of the disorder.

II

METHODS

Sixty-four patients of the psychopathic unit at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, a general and psychiatric hospital that receives male inmates from all federal penal institutions, volunteered to participate in these experiments and were given a total of 207 electroencephalograms. These patients were diagnosed as psychopathic personalities by the neuro-psychiatric staff (see previous study⁽¹⁾ for psychiatric characteristics); all were white and their ages ranged from 18 to 36 (average 22). Co-operation throughout the experiments was excellent, since participation was entirely voluntary. Twenty-eight of the sixty-four took part in more than one experiment.

* From the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri.

The drugs administered were: phenobarbital (2 gr.), sodium dilantin (3 to 12 gr.), benzedrine sulphate (15 to 20 mgm.), a combination of amytal (3 gr.) and benzedrine sulphate (20 mgm.) and a placebo of lactose. Those medications were put up in divided doses in number one gelatin capsules together with lactose as a filler. Neither subjects nor the ward personnel knew the identity of the drugs until the experiments were completed. The medications were given before breakfast and before lunch for periods of 8 to 15 days. No other change in the inmate's program was made, nor did he receive any special consideration for participating in the experiment. An EEG was taken before treatment and from one to three hours after the last dose of medicine. Repeat EEG's or experiments were done whenever indicated. A special chart on each patient was kept by ward attendants to note changes in behaviour or personality. Each man was briefly interviewed at the end of the experiment to elicit his reaction to the drugs. Fifteen experiments with each of the aforementioned drugs were performed; a second series of 10 was run with dilantin. In addition 5 subjects were given a single dose (15 to 20 mgm.) of benzedrine sulphate, 7 an intravenous injection of sodium phenobarbital (2 to 10 gr.) and 7 intravenous sodium amytal (2 to 7.5 gr.). These subjects were followed electroencephalographically before, during and for one and one-half to five hours after administration of the drug. Petit mal electro-shock was given* 2 to 3 times weekly; EEG's were obtained before and after the series of treatments. There were 20 cases who took 7 or more electro-shocks.

The technique of electroencephalography and criteria of EEG classification used have been described previously.⁽¹⁾ A 22 electrode placement covered the prefrontal (PF), frontal (F), central (C), parietal (P) and occipital (O) scalp areas for bipolar and monopolar leads. The minimum recording time was 18 minutes; this included a 2 minute hyperventilation period. Tracings were obtained on a 5 channel ink-recording electroencephalograph. The records were analyzed with particular reference to the *pathologic features* and general qualitative appearance rather than to the detailed study of the percentage or frequency of alpha and beta rhythms. Records were rated as "slightly improved" when better organization and fewer pathologic sequences were noted, but without sufficient qualitative change to warrant reclassifying the EEG from abnormal to borderline or from borderline to normal. When the latter was the case, the record was considered "definitely improved."

* Shock therapy was administered by Dr. E. W. Green.

The reverse was true for the ratings of "slightly worse" and "definitely worse." The significance of the slightly improved or worse categories was questioned, since intra-individual variability of the EEG allows for some minor quantitative differences (see placebo results).

III

RESULTS

1. *Benzedrine Sulphate.* There were no constant changes in the EEG when benzedrine sulphate was given except for one patient whose tracing became definitely worse under treatment (Table 1); this patient showed toxic symptoms and his EEG record is given in Fig. 1. Four electroencephalograms were slightly improved by benzedrine. Three of these four patients repeated the experiment and no consistent trend toward EEG improvement was noted. Two patients had a slightly worse tracing; one took benzedrine again and the same changes were observed. Two EEG's showed a slight increase of alpha frequency; the remaining six were almost identical before and during medication.

The clinical effects were disappointing. Only three of the fifteen patients thought the medication had any value; one said he felt "euphoric" and the other two described a feeling of well-being and calmness which they attributed to the drug. Seven noticed some increase of nervous tension but not enough to be disturbing. Two patients experienced definite toxic symptoms; insomnia, irritability, "jitteriness," and loss of weight and appetite. No marked changes in behaviour were observed by the personnel. There was no distinct correlation of the clinical status with the EEG, with the exception of the patient mentioned whose symptoms were toxic and whose EEG was abnormal.

The five patients who were given single doses of benzedrine sulphate showed no changes in their EEG up to three hours after administration. The benzedrine effects of increased nervous tension, etc., however, were elicited in varying degrees from all but one patient.

2. *Sodium Dilantin.* Sodium dilantin resulted in definite improvement of eight patients' electroencephalograms (Table 1). An example is given in Fig. II. Three of these eight patients had no beneficial effects from benzedrine, one definitely improved on phenobarbital and one was unaffected by phenobarbital. In addition four other dilantin records were slightly improved, one was slightly worse while twelve remained unchanged. Seven patients slept better and experienced a

sense of well being and repose. The personnel reported that during the administration of dilantin five of the seven were more co-operative, stable, reliable and less antagonistic. Five other patients claimed they slept more soundly, four felt uncomfortably drowsy during the day, three experienced nausea after the medication and six observed no effects upon themselves. The fact that five patients showed both EEG improvement and symptomatic benefit indicates that there is some correlation between the clinical and the EEG status.

3. *Phenobarbital.* There were no consistent effects on the EEG when phenobarbital was administered (Table 1). One tracing showed more abnormality (Fig. III) although the patient himself felt perfectly well. Another showed definite improvement; this patient had also improved on sodium dilantin. Seven others demonstrated minor EEG changes; four slightly worse and three slightly improved. All but one patient reported a soporific effect due to the medication and four were "groggy" during the day; work supervisors reported three of these four were drowsy, inefficient and slightly confused. Two patients thought their "nerves were steadier" and that they had "more control over their emotions," while two others believed their appetites were improved. No favorable reactions were observed by the personnel. There was no observable correlation of the EEG to the clinical response.

Intravenous Sodium Phenobarbital in sufficient but not narcotizing doses produced a slight increase of alpha frequency, a facilitation of beta potentials and a temporary diminution of delta rhythms. An example of the EEG changes is given in Fig. IV. In these experiments only slight drowsiness was produced.

4. *Amytal and Benzadrine.* There was not marked change in any electroencephalogram with the combination of amytal and benzedrine (Table 1). Slightly improved EEG's were seen in four cases. Clinical improvement, either subjective or objective, was lacking. Six experienced some mild adverse effects—loss of appetite, insomnia and "jitteriness" (two were alternately sleepy and jittery).

Striking EEG changes were produced by the intravenous injection of sodium amytal. These were much more marked than the effects of sodium phenobarbital. Fig. V and VI show the serial changes in the EEG—a gradual shifting of the spectrum to the rapid frequency side until the whole record is composed of fast potentials. At this stage all patients showed some degree of somnolence. The temporary disappearance of pathologic rhythms in Fig VI is notable.

5. *Placebo.* Placebos had no major effects on the EEG (Table 1). Minor differences, however, were seen in five records; two were regarded as slightly improved and three as slightly worse. No clinical response was elicited in eleven patients; two reported that they "felt better" and two that the medicine made them "sleepy." There was no correlation of the EEG to the subjective "improvement."

6. *Shock Therapy.* Although there were no major changes in the electroencephalogram following petit mal shock therapy (Table 1), abnormalities were temporarily increased in eight patients while two were rated as slightly improved. On re-check of those patients some months later three electroencephalograms were considered slightly worse than the original but better than those taken soon after the treatment. There seemed to be a tendency for shock therapy to exaggerate delta rhythms; this tendency was not marked enough to be alarming and the effect was not irreversible. An example is given in Fig. VII.

On the whole the clinical response to shock therapy was not impressive. A few patients became more affable, co-operative and productive only during the course of therapy. A detailed description and discussion of the clinical and psychological findings will be presented elsewhere.⁽²⁾

IV

DISCUSSION

The EEG findings in this paper are very similar to reports in the literature. Benzedrine has been found to produce no constant EEG changes in normals⁽³⁾ and in behaviour problem children.^(4 5) Sodium Dilantin has been shown to diminish the EEG abnormalities of epileptics,⁽⁶⁾ although no such results were obtained with behaviour problem children.⁽⁵⁾ Although barbiturates in large doses cause a sleep pattern,^(3 8) they have been known to produce a shifting of the EEG spectrum toward the more rapid potentials in both normals⁽⁷⁾ and others.^(4 7) Petit mal electro-shock in psychotics⁽⁹⁾ produced no EEG changes that lasted more than 24 hours; however, it is suggested by this study that the abnormal brain of the psychopath is more sensitive to the action of petit-mal-shock and evidences more prolonged though still reversible neuro-physiologic changes.

The clinical results in these experiments offer interesting comparisons to previous studies. The beneficial effects of benzedrine sulphate

on behaviour problem children^(4 5) suggest that a similarly favorable response might be expected from psychopaths. But the opposite held: the response was definitely unfavorable. This might mean that there is a cortical change (altered drug reaction) in the psychopath with chronological maturation or that some behaviour problem children are not psychopaths (cf. the negative response to benzedrine of 4 child psychopaths in Bender's series).⁽¹⁰⁾

Davidoff and Goodstone⁽¹¹⁾ reported improvement with the use of combined amytal and benzedrine in many psychiatric conditions, including psychopathy. This was not confirmed with this group of psychopaths, though their technique of giving the drugs was not followed precisely. Both Jasper and Cutts⁽⁴⁾ and Lindsley and Henry⁽⁵⁾ reported therapeutic failure with phenobarbital in behaviour problem children. The experiments with the psychopaths suggest that the dosage of barbiturates necessary to effect the EEG (and perhaps behaviour) favorably is too close to the somnolence level to be of clinical value. The addition of benzedrine to the barbiturate did not obviate this disadvantage. As Kalinowski, Barrera and Horowitz⁽⁹⁾ found petit-mal electro-shock to be of little value for psychotics, its lack of success in these experiments was not unexpected. Although undoubtedly grand mal shock therapy should be tried, the EEG sensitivity of the psychopath to petit mal therapy should serve as a warning of the possibility of producing "spontaneous" seizures⁽⁹⁾ with grand mal electro-shocks. The clinical success of sodium dilantin in epileptics⁽¹²⁾ is well known. Lindsley and Henry⁽⁵⁾ reported it to be of value in behaviour problem children. It is gratifying to see that the drug apparently helps some psychopaths. This might be an opening wedge in the successful treatment of some psychopaths—should it be capable of suppressing the abnormal and often disastrous outbursts of psychopathic behaviour and prove effective in the establishment of rapport for thorough psycho-therapeutics. Experiments with prolonged administration of the drug are now in progress.

It may be shown by repeated electroencephalograms on the same individual that the abnormal finding in psychopaths is a reliable and constant feature. Despite the fact that there may be day to day variations in the EEG, repeated tracings on many subjects over relatively long periods of time remain essentially the same. Figure VIII illustrates this constancy and Figure IX the repeated similarity of hyperventilation response. There is much evidence for assuming that an abnormal electroencephalogram indicates organic brain pathology or an "inborn con-

stitutional abnormality involving the central nervous system."⁽¹³⁾ As demonstrated in a previous study⁽¹¹⁾ there are a multiplicity of EEG patterns, patterns which may be found in any diffuse cortical disease. The interseizure EEG records of epileptics often present a diffuse dysrhythmic pattern, many of them indistinguishable from the psychopath's EEG. Jasper, Solomon and Bradley⁽¹⁴⁾ and others⁽¹⁵⁾ suggested that some behaviour problem children were "epileptoid." Although "epileptic personality" is a much debated issue (cf. Erickson,⁽¹⁶⁾) it is certainly seen frequently enough to be considered a phenomenon associated with the disease (cf. Noyes,⁽¹⁷⁾) and the description of this personality—egocentric, stubborn, anti-social—often bears a remarkable similarity to the psychopath. Conversely one sometimes sees symptoms in psychopaths which are very suspect of disorders of consciousness. For example, it was elicited from one typical psychopath that he had occasional "blank spells," brief periods when he seemed to forget what he was doing or saying. He was never observed to have anything resembling petit mal epilepsy and his complaint may have been an exaggeration of an ordinary phenomenon (distractibility). Yet this 20 year old youth had a markedly abnormal EEG—6 per second delta waves and a 3 per second rhythm on hyperventilation. A 22 year old psychopath exhibited periods of extreme rage and destructiveness, precipitated by frustration, after which he would become uncommunicative for several hours. Superficially this behaviour suggested an epileptic equivalent attack and his EEG was abnormal—a 6 per second rhythm and 3 per second waves on hyperventilation. Even more suggestive of a relationship between epilepsy and psychopathy is the similar clinical and EEG response to sodium dilantin.

If the foregoing has validity, then psychopathic behaviour must be viewed in the same light as the convulsive state. Psychopathy should be, as is epilepsy, a symptom of various types of organic brain disease or an inborn constitutional abnormality (the "idiopathic"). That psychopathic behaviour is associated with organic brain disease is fully attested to by psychiatric literature and in fact lead many to postulate an "organic" etiology for the "idiopathic" psychopath.^(18 19 20) Whether one develops a convulsive or a personality disorder or *both* may depend upon anatomic and physiologic variations of this cerebral lesion or abnormality. The first consideration, then, in the handling of a case of psychopathic personality might be the use of special diagnostic procedures for the detection of cerebral lesions. If one can not be found or if the lesion is unamenable to other therapy, sodium dilantin might then be tried.

It should be recognized that the type of psychopathic personality—the particular symptomatology displayed—is determined largely by psychological traumata. These traumata undoubtedly contribute to the intensity of the personality disturbance.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly comprehensive treatment of the psychopath should provide for psycho-therapy.

V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Studies on the effects of benzedrine sulphate, phenobarbital, sodium dilantin, amytal and benzedrine, intravenous sodium phenobarbital, intravenous sodium amytal, placebos and petit mal electro-shock therapy upon the behaviour and electroencephalograms of a group of criminal psychopathic personalities at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners were reported and discussed. It was found that sodium dilantin influences both behaviour and the EEG favorably. It is suggested that psychopathic personality bears a close relationship to epilepsy, that a thorough search for cerebral lesions should be made in each case, and that its management should include a trial on sodium dilantin combined with psycho-therapy.

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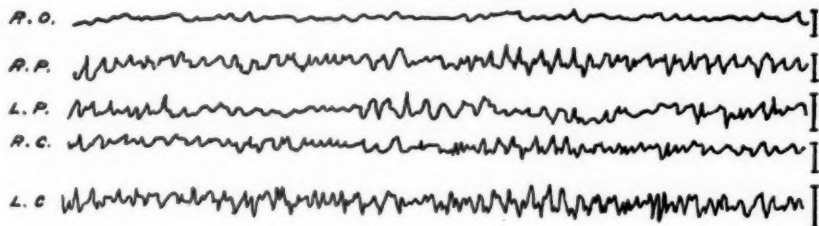
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TABLE I

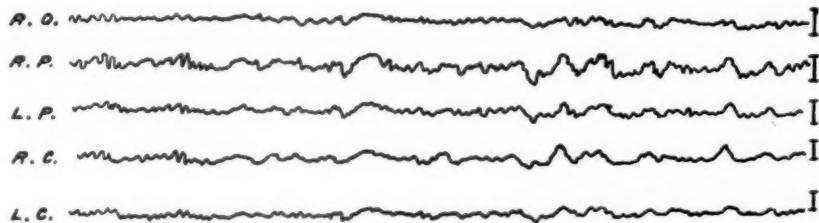
	E. E. G. NORMAL	BORDERLINE E. E. G.	ABNORMAL E. E. G.	SIGNIFICANT E. E. G. IMPROVEMENT
Benzedrine Sulphate				
Before Therapy	2	6	7	
During Therapy	2	5	8	0
Sodium Dilantin				
Before Therapy	1	5	19	
During Therapy	2	11	12	8
Phenobarbital				
Before Therapy	1	6	8	
During Therapy	2	4	9	1
Amytal and Benzedrine				
Before Therapy	2	5	8	
During Therapy	2	5	8	0
Placebo				
Before Therapy	1	4	10	
During Therapy	1	4	10	0
Petit Mal Shock-Therapy				
Before Therapy	2	5	13	
After Therapy	2	5	13	0

FIGURE-I

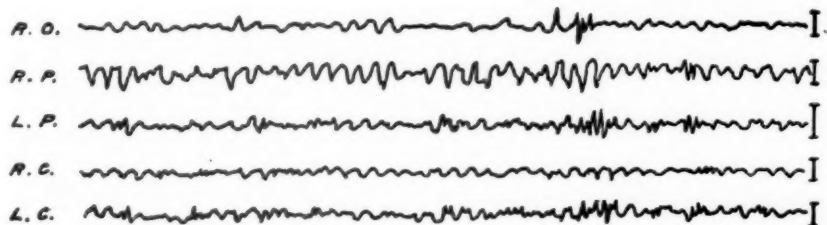
BENZEDRINE SULPHATE



"A" BEFORE TREATMENT



"B" DURING TREATMENT



"C" AFTER TREATMENT

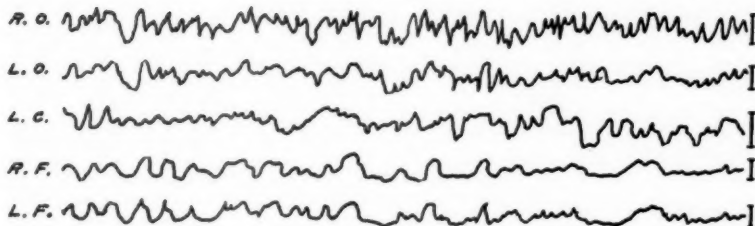
ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS CALIBRATIONS - 50 μ V.

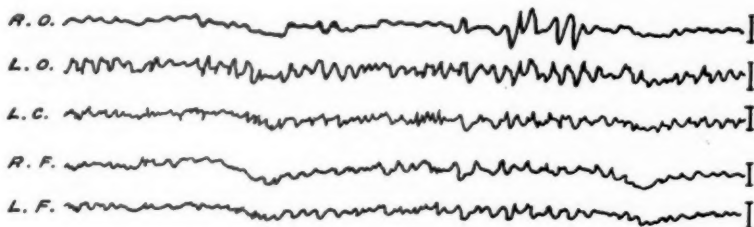


FIGURE-II

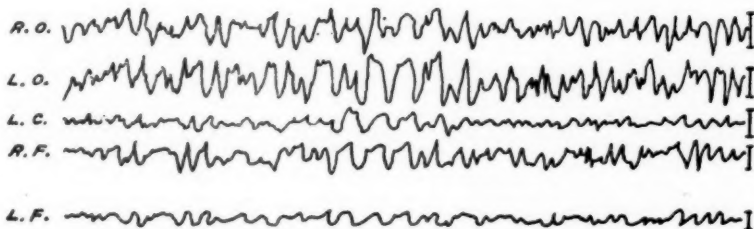
SODIUM DILANTIN



"A" BEFORE TREATMENT



"B" DURING TREATMENT



"C" AFTER TREATMENT

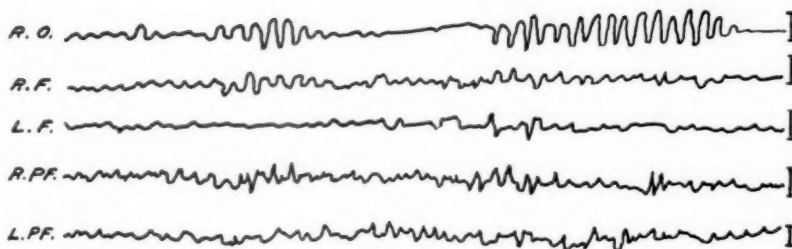
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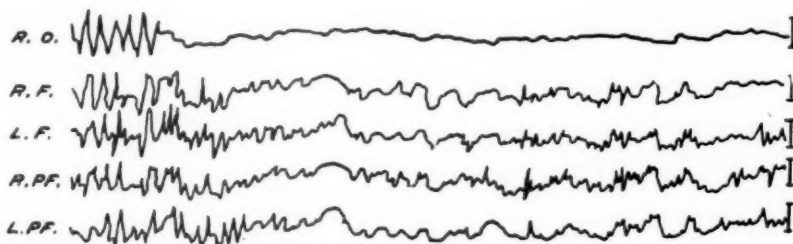


FIGURE - III

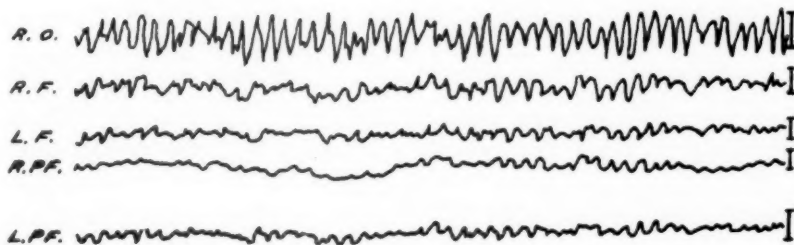
PHENOBARBITAL



"A" BEFORE TREATMENT



"B" DURING TREATMENT



"C" AFTER TREATMENT

ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS

CALIBRATIONS - 50 μ V.



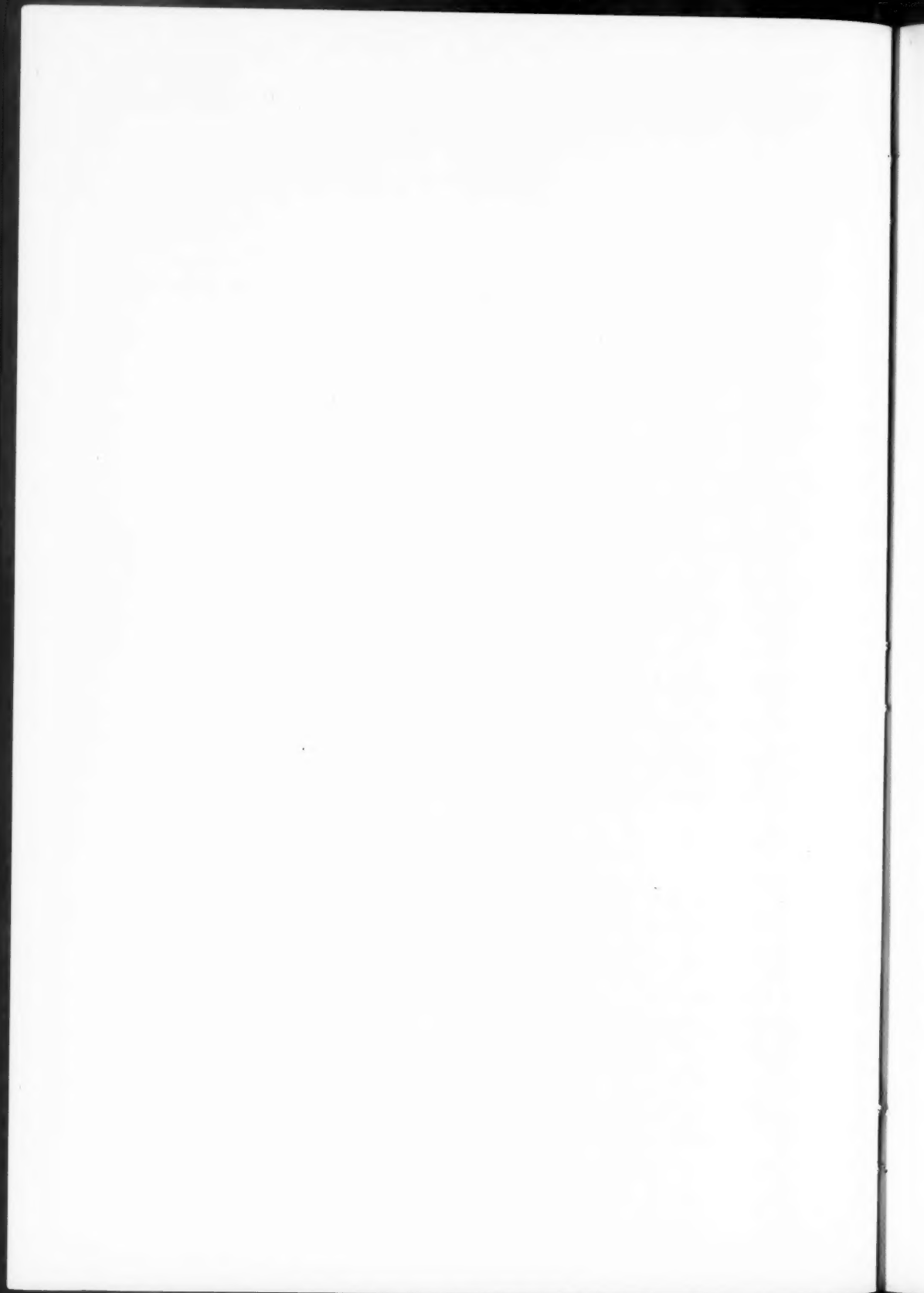
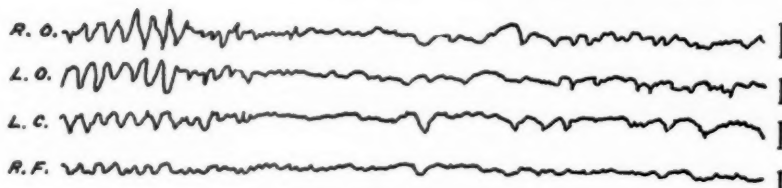
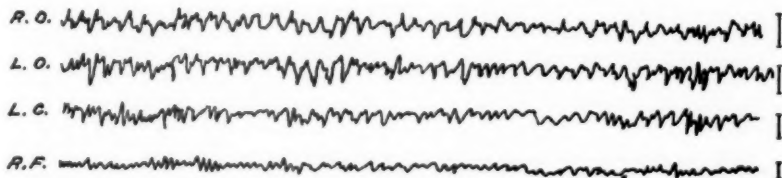


FIGURE-IV

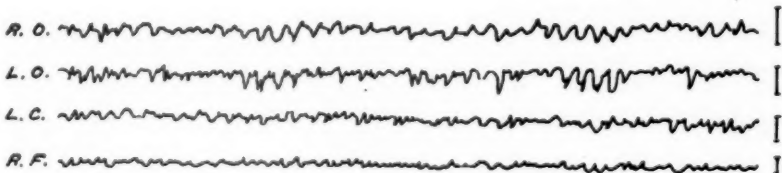
INTRAVENOUS SODIUM PHENOBARBITAL



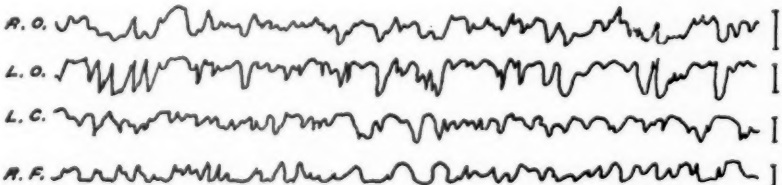
"A" BEFORE INJECTION



"B" FOUR MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"C" EIGHT MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"D" FIFTEEN MINUTES AFTER INJECTION

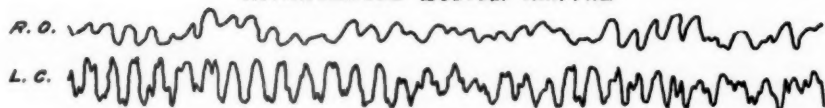
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MONOPOLAR LEADS CALIBRATIONS - 50 μ V.



FIGURE-V

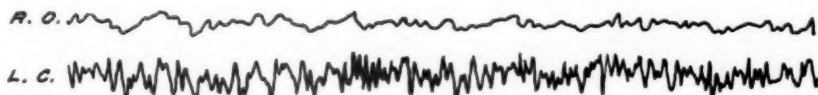
INTRAVENOUS SODIUM AMYTAL



"A" BEFORE INJECTION



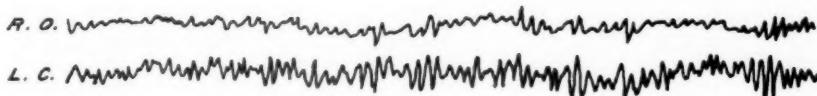
"B" THIRTY SECONDS AFTER INJECTION



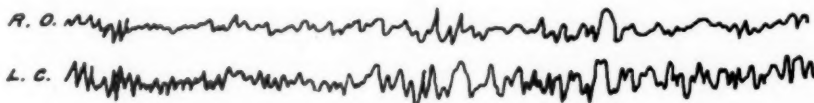
"C" ONE MINUTE AFTER INJECTION



"D" TEN MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"E" TWENTY MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"F" THIRTY FIVE MINUTES AFTER INJECTION

ONE SECOND MONOPOLAR LEADS I 50 μ V.



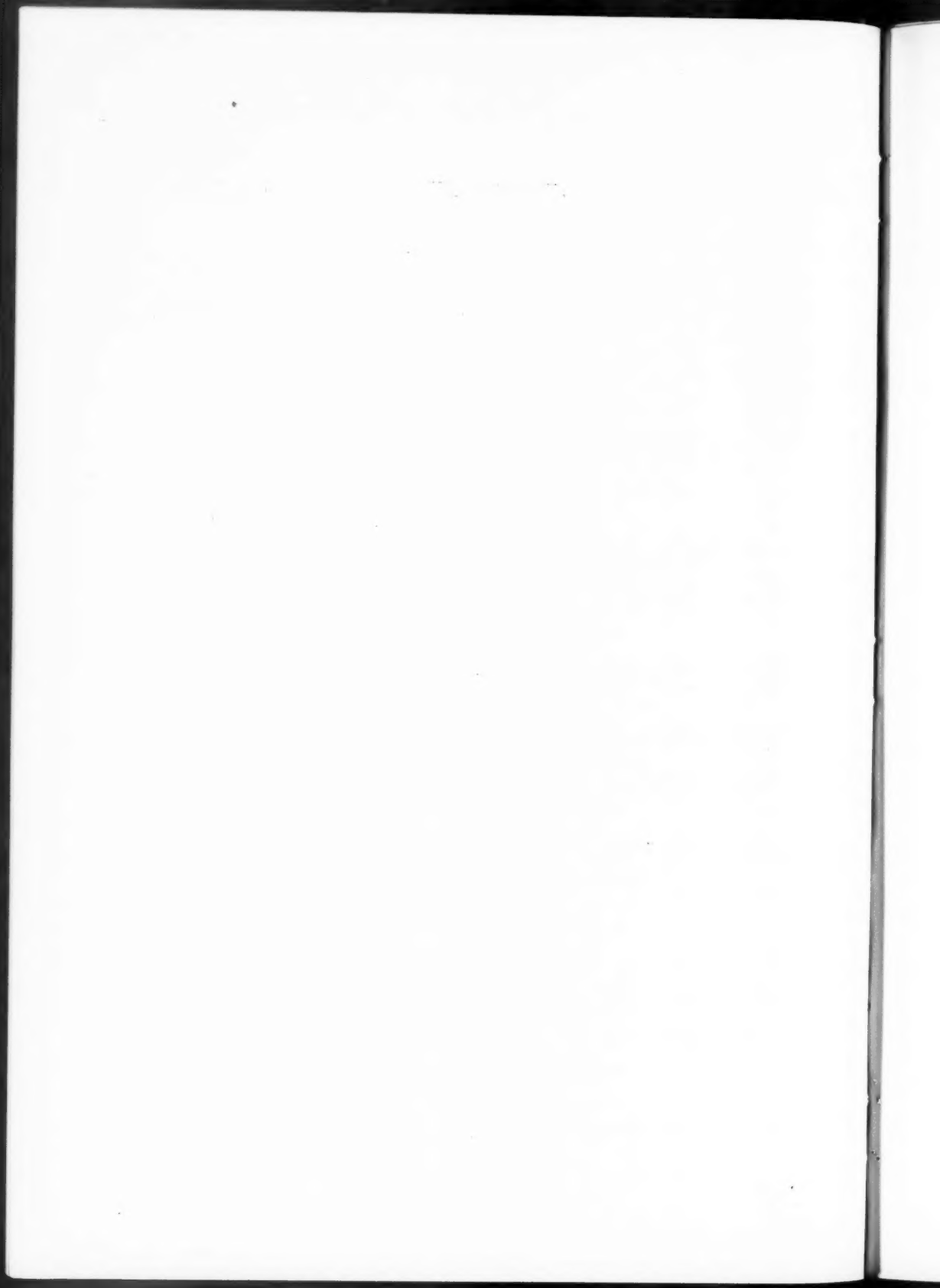
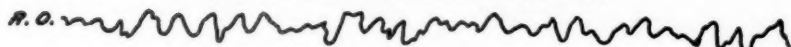
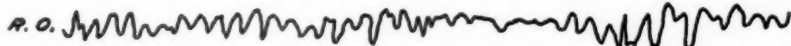


FIGURE - VI

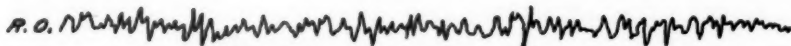
INTRAVENOUS SODIUM AMYTAL



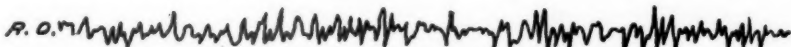
"A" BEFORE INJECTION



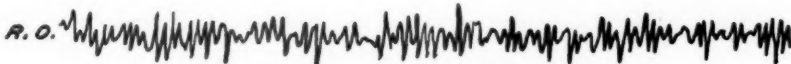
"B" DURING INJECTION - ONE MINUTE



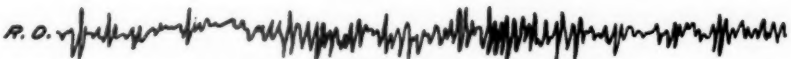
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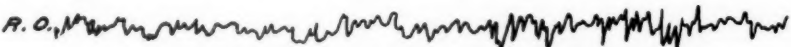
"D" END OF INJECTION - FIVE MINUTES



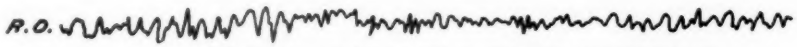
"E" FOUR MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"F" TEN MINUTES AFTER INJECTION




"G" THIRTY MINUTES AFTER INJECTION



"H" HOUR AND A HALF AFTER INJECTION



"I" FIVE AND A HALF HOURS AFTER INJECTION

 ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS

50 μ V.



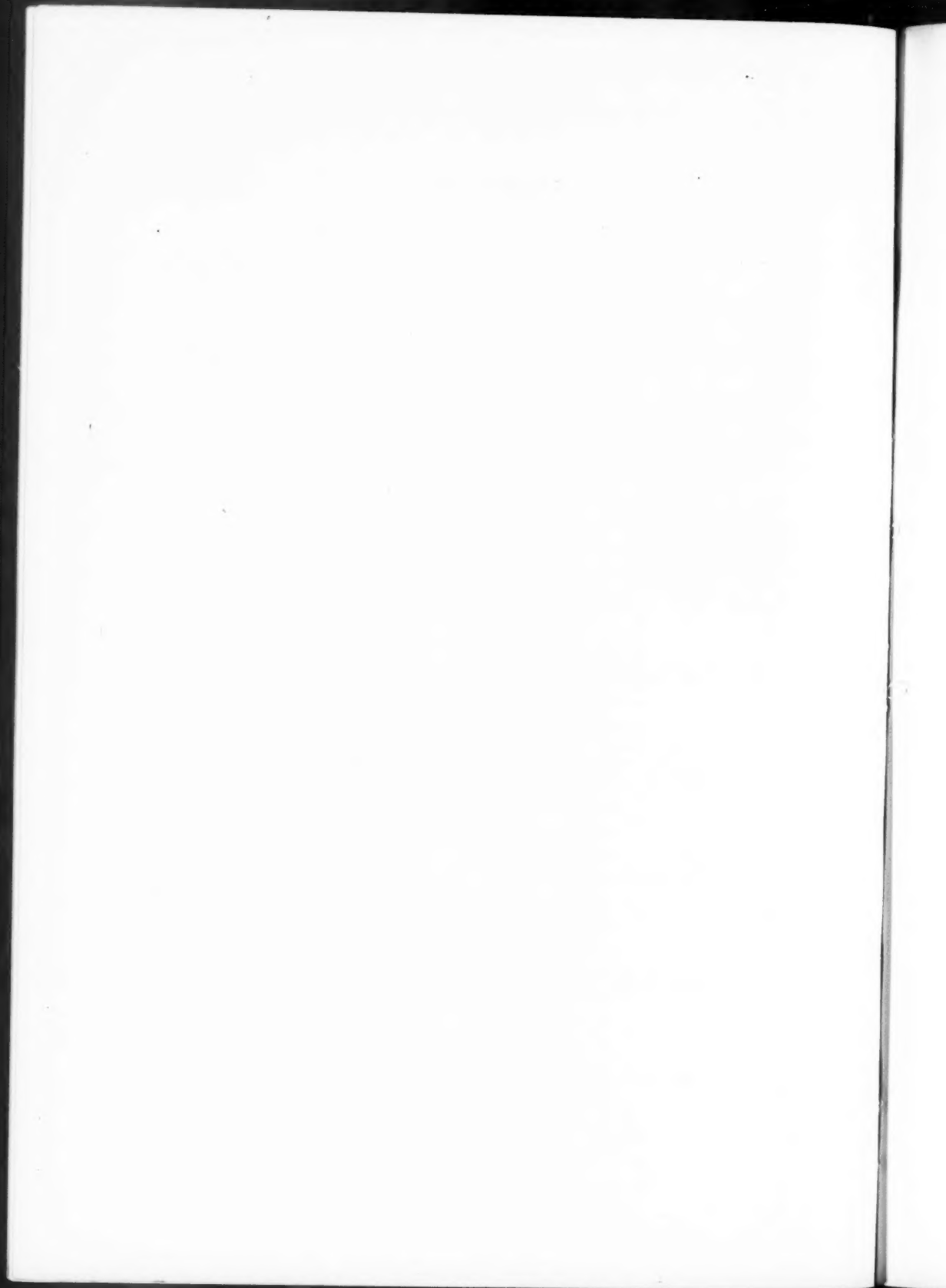
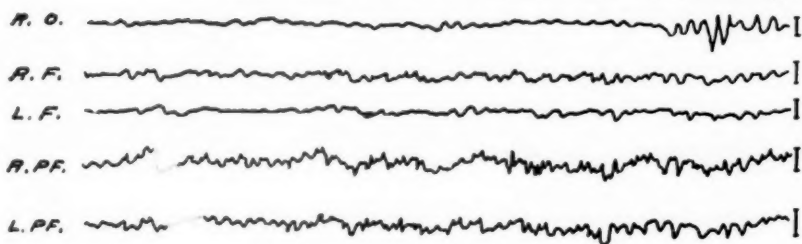
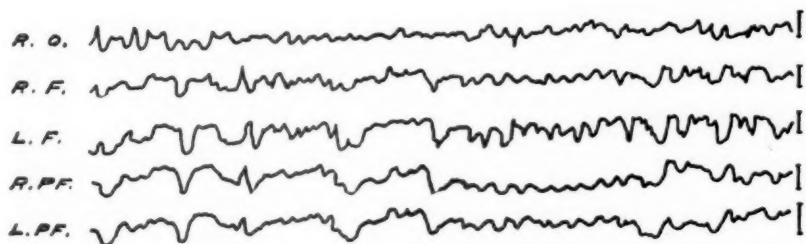


FIGURE - VII

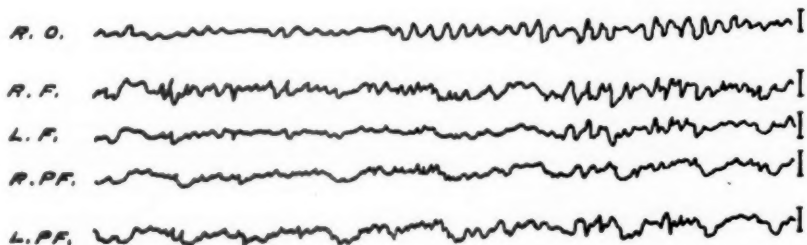
PETIT-MAL ELECTROSHOCK (20 TREATMENTS)



"A" BEFORE TREATMENT



"B" ONE WEEK AFTER COMPLETION OF THERAPY



"C" FOUR MONTHS AFTER COMPLETION OF THERAPY

ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS CALIBRATIONS - 50 MV.

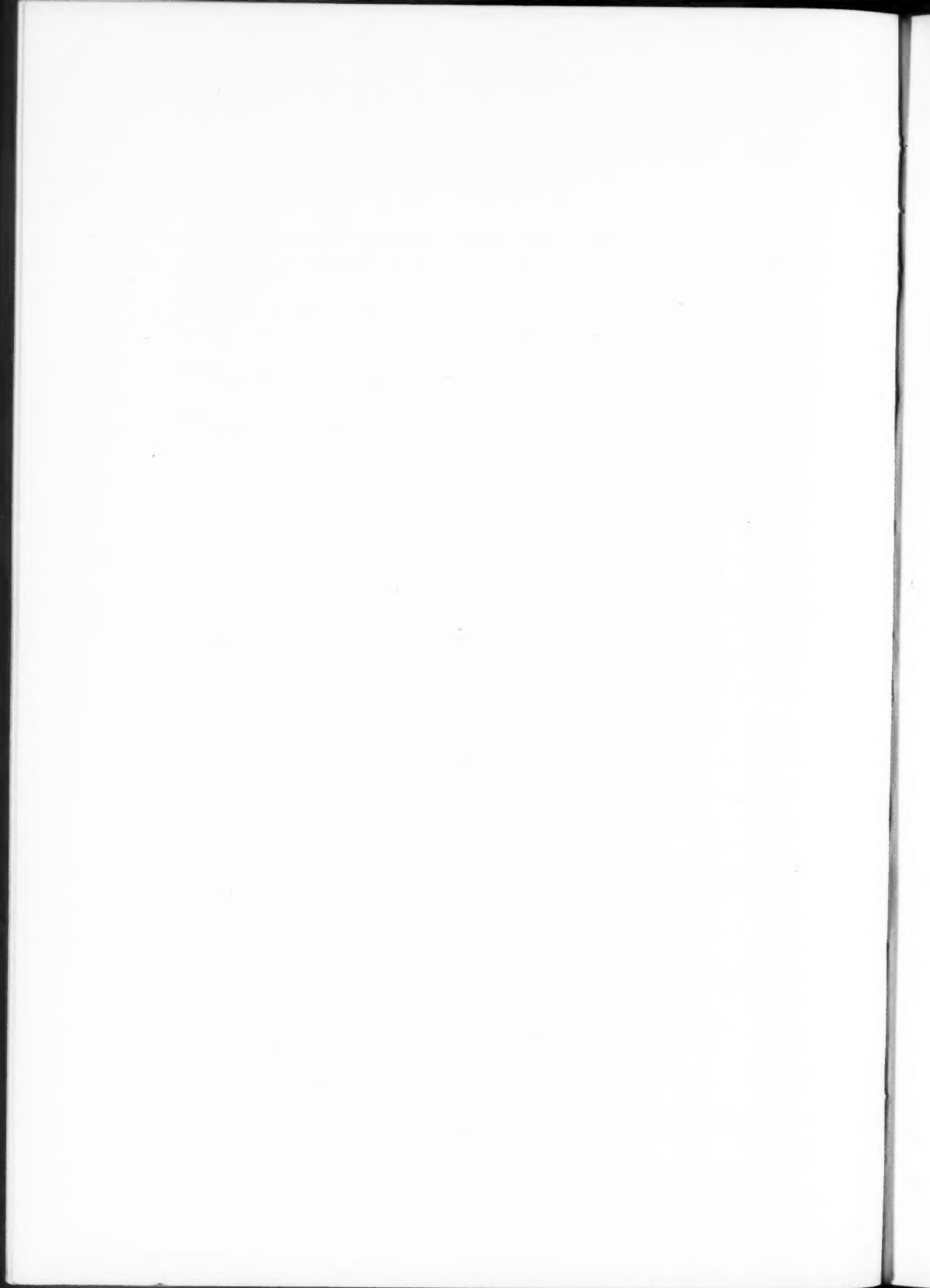
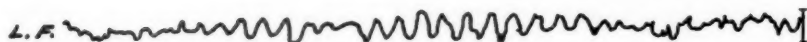
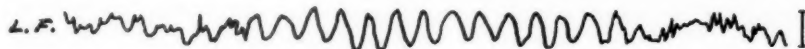


FIGURE- VIII

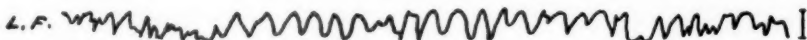
CONSTANCY OF EEG ABNORMALITY



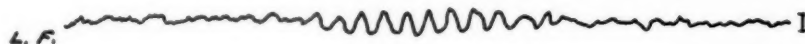
"A" MARCH 30, 1942



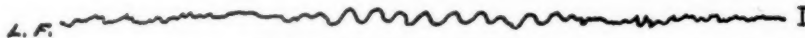
"B" JULY 2, 1942



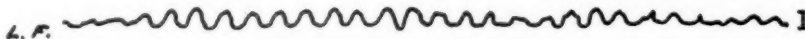
"C" OCTOBER 23, 1942



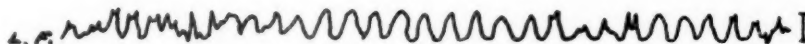
"D" NOVEMBER 24, 1942



"E" DECEMBER 21, 1942



"F" DECEMBER 28, 1942



"G" JANUARY 13, 1943



"H" FEBRUARY 2, 1943

ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS CALIBRATIONS - 50 μ V.



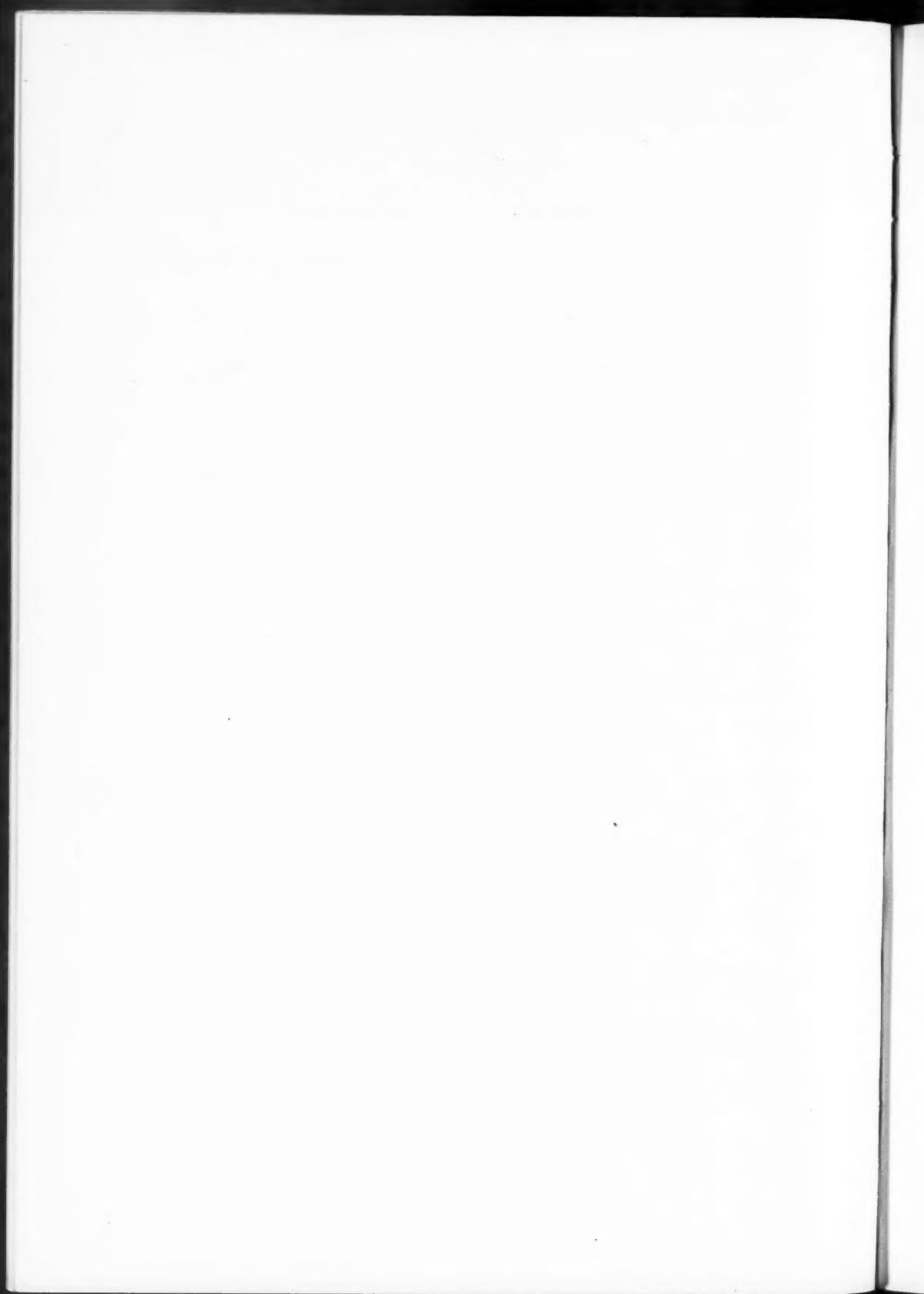
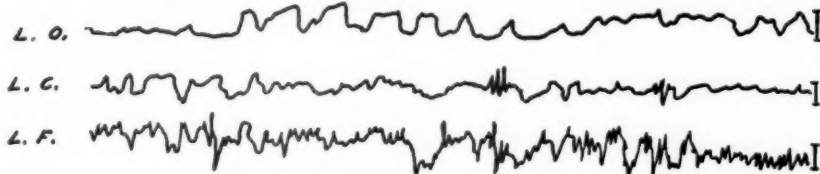
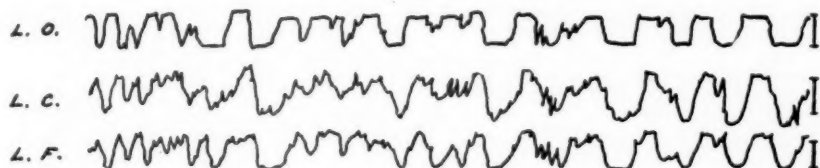


FIGURE - IV

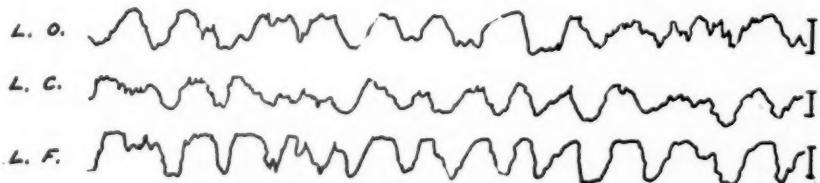
CONSTANCY OF HYPERVENTILATION ABNORMALITY



"A" APRIL 5, 1942



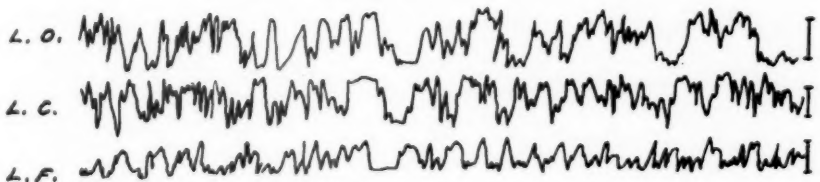
"B" OCTOBER 26, 1942



"C" NOVEMBER 19, 1942



"D" DECEMBER 14, 1942



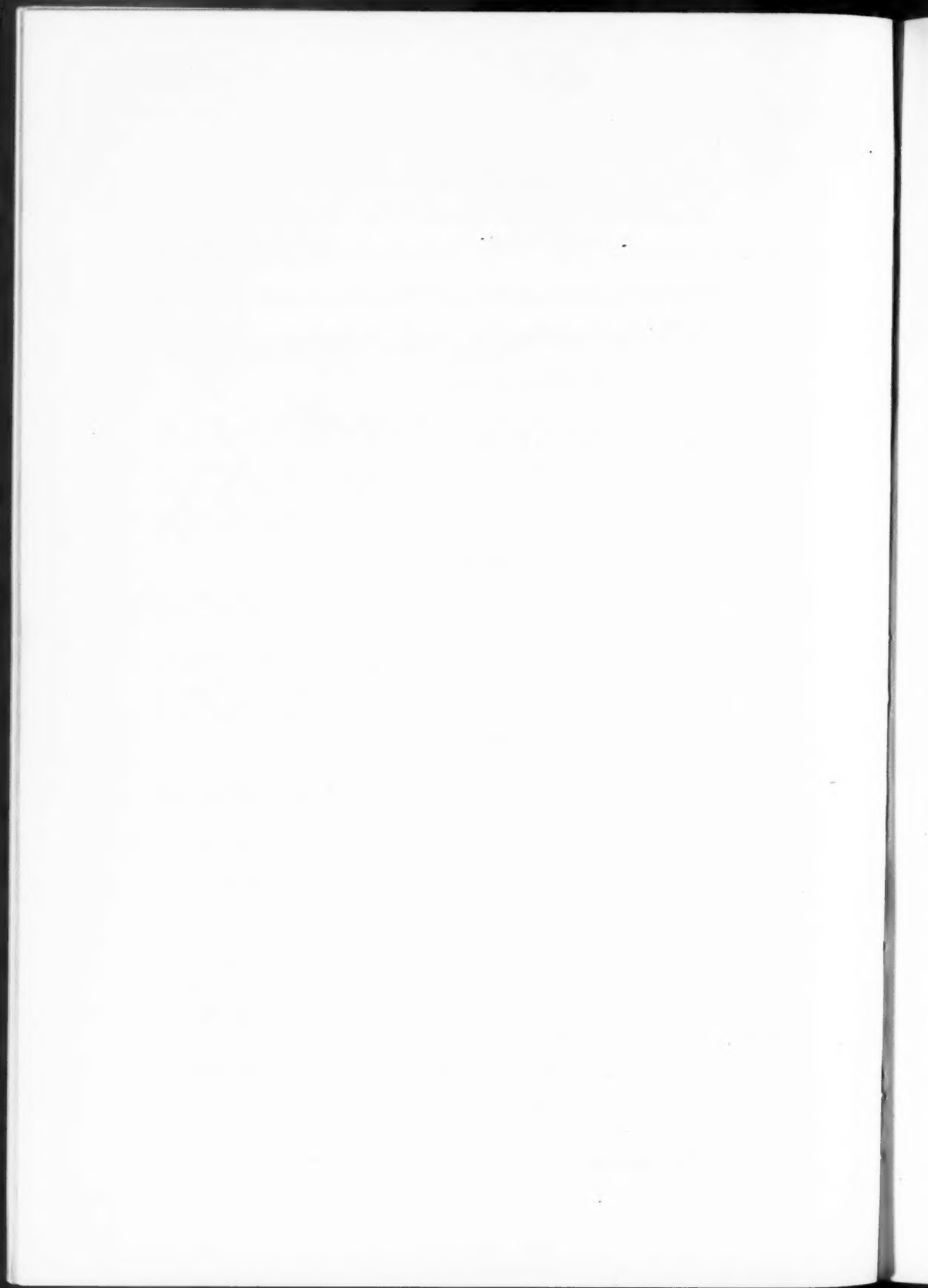
"E" JANUARY 17, 1943

—
ONE SECOND

MONOPOLAR LEADS

CALIBRATIONS - 50 μ V.





HOMOSEXUALITY

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and

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A review of some of the vast literature dealing with homosexuality has been carried out in order to show in what ways, perhaps, psychiatry can help in solving this difficult problem.

HISTORICAL

Down through the ages, man has been intimately concerned with homosexuality. Some of the most ancient historical documents, dating back several thousand years before Christ, make definite statements in regard to homosexuality, indicating that this form of sexual expression has long been known. In ancient Egyptian papyri, the gods Horus and Set are described as homosexual deities and worshiped as such. A well-known extract from Plato describes his seduction of Socrates. Homosexuality was socially acceptable in the Golden Age of Greece. It is said that the derivation of the word "pedagogue" is from the Greek word signifying the slave-attendant of wealthy Greek youths whose duty it was to guard their charges from the seductive efforts of Athenian noblemen. With the advent of Christianity, homosexuality and other forms of sex offenses were severely penalized. "If a man also lieth down with mankind as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination. They shall surely be put to death. Their blood shall be upon them." The "sexual abomination" of Sodom and Gomorrah is biblically punished by fire from heaven and this myth creeps into our language with the word "sodomy." In later Roman times, homosexuality was often believed to enhance virility and soldiers were at times discouraged from female cohabitation. In the middle ages, homo-

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sexuality among the Knights Templar afforded the basis for a historic scandal. Some writers, sculptors, and painters of the Renaissance period were reported to have been homosexual; they certainly have left us brilliant examples of their genius in which homosexuality is strongly suggested. So historic and universal a finding suggests that some attribute attendant upon homosexuality may be inherent in mankind.

CLASSIFICATION

The legal classification of sex offenders carries with it little or no methodology and the psychiatric classification is equally difficult. A variety of viewpoints are expressed on the subject (Alexander, Branham, Myerson, Davidoff, Wile, Malamud). One point of view maintains there can be no psychiatric classification of a problem bearing on essentially legal connotation. Some methods of classification are offered in terms of individually accepted theories of the nature of sex. Some approaches emphasize disturbance in the sexual aim and sexual object, thus (1) the aim is disturbed (sadism, masochism, voyeurism, exhibitionism); (2) the object is disturbed (homosexuality, pedophilia, zoophilia); (3) both the aim and the objective is disturbed (fetishism). Branham classifies according to the motivating force behind the conduct. Davidoff offers a form of classification but adds "there is no adequate classification of sex offenders and these deviations should not be considered under a separate heading but merely as manifestations of a defect or deviation of the general personality development." Wile believes "an analysis of sex offenders should take into consideration several frames of reference for classification. The fundamental desire should be to understand the offender as a person and to appreciate the meaning and nature of his offence in terms of his total situation." This is in harmony with the theory that the sexual offense is wholly a function of a present situation that involves the conscious and unconscious factors of the personality responding to past experiences and potential pressures.

STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Sex and sexual differentiation of body and mind seem to depend upon the chromosomal structure of the fertilized ovum. Development of sex, however, is not restricted to the differentiation of gonad tissue and genital organs into male and female structures, but extends to all other physical and mental characteristics that are different in the two sexes. Long before puberty, differences in male and female temperament and

physique have been recognized. Maturation of the various sex characteristics does not occur entirely simultaneously. The growth of beard and hair on the chest, the low-pitched voice in the male, the development of breasts and the onset of menstruation in the female, take place in a regular order. The development of the libidinous drive in heterosexual channels appears to be the most significant psychological secondary sex character.

ENVIRONMENT

Freud and Ferenczi have emphasized the influences of the early environment on the adult personality organization. The quality of the emotional bond between the child and each of his parents plays a vital determining role in the development of his personality. Their views emphasize that sex life passes through a number of stages, with final achievement being the adult heterosexual level. Conditioning experiences may produce arrests of development at any stage or regressions from a higher level. With such a close relationship between maturation of the total personality structure and psychosexual maturity, environment factors obviously can effect either, and particularly so before puberty.

CULTURE

It has been said that no person is completely male or female. In some ways, our cultural criteria for masculine and feminine traits appear somewhat preconceived. There is evidence that our culture has arbitrarily designated at least certain traits as masculine or feminine, and we are accordingly expected to mold ourselves into conventional patterns. Aggressiveness and passivity are often regarded as sex-linked in our culture but Margaret Mead has shown that they are not linked with sex in all cultures. She has found a very passive attitude on the part of both males and female in one primitive culture, while in a second, she finds that both sexes are extremely aggressive. In a third primitive culture, she finds the females aggressive and dominating while the males are passive and interested in dancing and artistic pursuits. She points out that almost any combination of masculinity or femininity can be found and concludes that "many, if not all, of the personality traits which we consider 'sex-linked' are as lightly linked to sex as are the clothing, the manners, and the form of headdress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex. We are forced to conclude that human nature is almost un-

believably malleable, responding accurately to contrasting cultural conditions."

Malinowski indicates that "in every type of civilization, every custom, material object, idea and belief fulfills some vital function." Sex offenders are individuals whose sex behavior runs cross-grain to currently established sex taboos. Taboos vary in different cultures so that it is not surprising to find many practices that we regard as "normal" that are frowned upon in other cultures, as for example, celibacy. Society's attitude toward homosexuality encourages repression and this repression results in many conflicts for the latent and overt homosexual. The so-called well-adjusted homosexual is seldom without conflict which he may learn to conceal by bravado or to express in his contempt for conventionality.

There is a tendency in some quarters to treat the sex offender, and especially the homosexual, as if he were a species apart from the rest of mankind. Society has vented its dislike for the homosexual not only with legal penalties, but has assigned to him a social stigma and ridicule that easily penetrates prison walls, where "queers" are the butt of the crude wit of their fellow inmates. To institutional authorities, they are a considerable problem because their presence in a prison community, already without normal sexual outlets, results in latent perversions being brought out and presents disciplinary problems of the first magnitude.

HORMONES

In the process of maturation, the heterosexual drive has been regarded as the principle psychic counterpart of physical sexual maturity. Since secondary physical characteristics are influenced to such a large degree by sex hormones, it seems reasonable to suspect that modulation of sex instinct into heterosexual direction might also be dependent upon hormones. Improved methods of chemical assay of estrogenic and androgenic substances in blood and urine are now available, and are more accurate and more quickly performed than the older biological assays. Hormone assay opens another approach to the study of homosexuality. Androgenic and estrogenic substances are excreted in both sexes. Wright, Glass, and McKennon found various degrees of reversal of the normal androgen-estrogen ratio in the urine of homosexuals. Glass, Deuel, and Wright have extended these studies to a larger group of cases with the more refined methods of assay now available. They found the average androgen-estrogen ratios to be lower in 17 male homosexuals

than in 31 normal males. The average value of this ratio was 7.33 in homosexuals and 12.02 in normal males. These figures are statistically significant as the authors point out. The figures given by various authors for the amounts of androgen and estrogen excreted by normal men and women vary widely, due probably to the difference in the methods used for the assay (Myerson and Neustadt). A peculiarity which cannot be overlooked is the fact that androgenic substance shows some estrogenic activity in biological experiments and vice versa. Wide variations have been found in different assays on the same homosexual subject, chiefly in the estrogen excretion. The abnormal androgen-estrogen ratio has to be considered as a sign of homosexuality but, by no means, as its cause. Biochemical changes consequent to abnormal emotional experiences may very well play an important part in producing a pathological hormone balance.

DYNAMICS

Although there are few institutions in the world created for the study of sex, there have been many individual contributions from Krafft-Ebing, Forel, Havelock Ellis, Freud and his many psychoanalytic followers, with their stimulating discussions of the nature of sex and its role in normal and abnormal behavior. Attempts are occasionally made to consider homosexuality apart from other aspects of the total individual. In fact, many case reports in the vast literature deal only with the "interesting" and shocking pathological sexual behavior of the patient. But if homosexuality is only a facet of the total personality, a thorough understanding of the total individual and the life situations in which he operates is necessary to bring about an adequate understanding of his sexual behavior. The patient should be studied from social, emotional, and environmental standpoints with special view to determine:

- (1) Emotional infantilism, lack of personal independence or self-reliance, parental overprotection and solicitude.
- (2) Parental rejection; unwholesome parental patterns.
- (3) Perverseness appearing in relation to defects in personality organization, intellectual deficiency associated with powerful instinctive drives and weak or absent inhibitory mechanisms, physical handicaps, etc
- (4) Perverseness merely a different manifestation of the same

fundamental maladjustment and motivated by the same forces responsible for other unacceptable behavior patterns, so that the homosexual should be regarded as a delinquent whose maladjustment is in part homosexual.

Any indication of abnormal sexual behavior warrants serious study in terms of its setting in childhood, adolescence, or senility, as well as its relationship to evidences of neurosis, psychopathy, psychosis, or mental deficiency. We must continually remind ourselves that psychosexual evolution is not an isolated or static attribute, but is a dynamic process to be observed in its setting of structural, constitutional, cultural, and environmental factors.

THERAPY

All recognized methods of psychotherapy hold a high and important place in the treatment plan. General improvement of physical health, endocrine or detoxicating therapy may be individually indicated. Education and reeducation, adequate employment and recreation, favorable companionship and opportunity for religious sublimation form important outer structures in the therapeutic program. Psychotherapy may often be wisely directed toward the family in obtaining their support for building morale. If there is a common denominator in the life histories of homosexuals, it appears to be the insecurity which arises from their socially unacceptable practices. It would appear very necessary to manipulate the patient's environment so as to restore for him some of his lost security and esprit de corps. There must be a rekindling of competitive spirit so necessary for survival in present day labor and business worlds. The success of all treatment depends to a large extent upon a desire for ego development through greater social valuation and acceptance by others. However, it must be recognized that many overt homosexuals find their expression very natural and pleasant and as such have little desire to effect any change. According to William Sadler, "the congenital homoerotic is never really cured." Rosanoff considers homosexuality a fixed trait and as such offers an unfavorable prognosis, "to convert a homosexual person into a heterosexual would be as difficult as to convert a heterosexual into a homosexual." The aim of treatment is in his opinion not a cure but a social adjustment. Mental hygiene, in providing an adequate environment during the malleable period of adolescence, cannot be too greatly emphasized.

Various reports have appeared regarding the administration of hor-

mone therapy, both alone and in conjunction with psychotherapy. Thus far, results appear conflicting and no final judgment can yet be passed on this method of treatment. Some references have recently appeared in regard to drastic shock therapy and frontal lobotomy, but these methods are still too recent to be properly evaluated.

CLINICAL STUDIES

The clinical and historical data of 278 male patients under care at the Psychopathic Unit of the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners on July 1, 1942 have been reviewed. Residents were non-psychotic, psychopathic males with median age of approximately 22 years. They were serving federal sentences for a variety of offenses. Patients treated in this unit were received for psychiatric study, care, and therapy from the various federal penal and correctional institutions. A markedly psychopathic personality structure and pathological behavior formed the basis for transfer to the Medical Center. Pathological sexuality was only one of the administrative criteria providing for transfer. Ninety-eight, or 35%, of the 278 individuals studied showed reasonably certain evidence of having had one or more overt homosexual experiences, judged upon information received from other institutions, the various courts, local social investigating agencies, and, as a rule, with confirmation by the patient. Hereafter, our discussion will deal with this group of overt homosexuals. Another smaller group of 19 patients presented histories with evidence of "suspected" homosexuality, but in each instance, this was denied by the patient.

TERMINOLOGY

In reviewing extensive records from many sources, it was obvious that a great deal of confusion existed in the meaning attached to "sodomy," "fellatio," "active partner," "passive role," and "recipient." Psychiatrists usually used "sodomy" in a restricted manner to refer to anal intercourse while the courts and the laity frequently used it broadly to include fellatio or any other method of homosexual gratification. "Active" and "passive" roles were frequently confused and sometimes employed with diametrically opposite meanings by members of the same staff. It is suggested that "female role" and "male role" in fellatio or rectal sodomy be applied for purposes of technical description in order to avoid unnecessary misunderstanding.

PREDOMINANTLY HOMOSEXUAL

Several of the patients showed unmistakable evidence of marked predominance of homosexual drive in their psychosexual development. It was common to find that these individuals had had frequent homosexual experiences, this being their method of choice of sexual gratification in civilian life. In many instances, considerable versatility was displayed, with engagement in both male and female roles in rectal sodomy and fellatio, but usually with a preference for the female part. Ingenious methods of soliciting were frequently brought to light. Some had at various times assumed common law relationships with a male partner, while at other intervals having pursued professional male prostitution. It appeared to be a common practice to obtain money through male prostitution, only to spend it upon a male paramour of their own choice while sometimes reversing their sexual roles. The majority of the habitually overt homosexual patients were familiar with certain rendezvous in large cities where they had the opportunity to wine, dine, and carry on social functions. Female impersonation, transvestism, padded breasts and busse, wasp-waist, penciled eyebrows, swaggering gait, depilation of the beard, shaving of pubic hair, and effeminate mannerisms were some of the frequent affectations. Among such a group of newly admitted patients, an observant layman can unmistakably identify the effeminate gestures and carriage. Homosexual experiences often began in early childhood and there not infrequently appeared the statement that the parents wanted a girl or that the parents tolerated or encouraged dressing as a girl. Very commonly there was evidence of a disturbance in the normal parent-child relationship. No constant physical picture was found. Immature genitals, broad pelvis, hypotonic muscles, asthenic build, delicate skin, and falsetto voice were noted in some instances, but no consistent indication of endocrine disturbance could be found.

Case No. 1, T. D., was an effeminate-mannered youth who wrote: "It is silly to be ashamed of being like this . . . I have gone to a lot of parties where girls are dressed as men and men as girls. These fairies like to be together, away from other people who look and laugh at us because they are not broad-minded . . . All we ask is that people leave us alone . . . The day will come when people will realize that there are no longer two sexes, but three . . . I know all the better queers, and they are very nice people. Of course, there are bad queers, too, and I despise the

New York prostitutes who hustle on the streets and wear kotex . . . I've always wanted to have men love me. I want babies. I love to lie in bed with a man. It is lovely to be in someone's embrace. They feel me up and play with me, kiss and suckle my breasts; and it gives me the greatest pleasure . . ." This lad had been induced to practice fellatio on older boys at the age of four. He had never had a heterosexual experience, but did engage in extensive overt homosexual activities. A photograph taken in civilian life while impersonating a woman would easily pass for that of a well-groomed female. During a common law relationship with a homosexual partner, he became involved in interstate car theft and received a three-year sentence. He was twenty-four years old, the second of seven children, with very mediocre home setting. He obtained a superior intelligence rating on tests. Investigation showed many evidences of abnormalities and psychopathic behavior throughout childhood and adolescent life, and a long record of delinquency. Genital development appeared normal. He was of slight build, with medium pitched voice, and otherwise normal physical development.

Considerable versatility is evident in the next case.

Case No. 2, F. Q., was first introduced to homosexual practices at the age of seven by an uncle, and subsequently had many similar experiences in early childhood. In adolescent life he had practiced both male and female roles in fellatio, but preferred rectal sodomy, but he submitted in order that he might later reciprocate with his partner. He had had an occasional 'date' with a girl, but had never experienced heterosexual intercourse and expressed very little desire. He had joined the army and is said to have advanced to the rank of sergeant before he propositioned another enlisted man and was discharged. He was twenty-eight years old, the eldest of three siblings. There was no indication of psychopathic traits early in life except excessive lying. He was discharged from a position as collector of British War Relief donations, whereupon he posed as a sergeant and continued to collect the funds for himself. Tests indicated superior intelligence. Under observation, he was very restless and showed many features of anxiety and hysteria. He was physically well-built, with normal masculine physique, but was conspicuously effeminate in manner. From clinical findings, he was better classified as a neurotic rather than a psychopath.

Several individuals presenting a strong homosexual composition had made feeble attempts at heterosexual adjustment even to the extent of a

common law relationship or marriage. But on careful analysis, attempts at heterosexuality were weak in comparison with their homosexual drive.

Case No. 3, K. X., had had his first heterosexual experience at the age of 21 with a prostitute. The same year, he fell in love with and proposed marriage to a beauty shop operator. During the engagement, he had sexual relations with her seven times, each time while intoxicated. On the eighth occasion he was not intoxicated, and the idea of intercourse disgusted him so much he promptly broke off the engagement. While carrying on this affair, he was also actively engaging in homosexual practices, playing the female role in rectal sodomy, and both male and female roles in fellatio. This patient was twenty-three years old. With an adopted sister, he had been reared since infancy in what appeared to be an excellent foster home. No reliable information was available concerning his early sexual experiences. He was slim, with small hands and feet, delicate soft skin, normally developed genitals, and a very effeminate manner of body carriage, facial expression, and gestures. Under our observation, he proved aggressive in soliciting homosexual friendships and writing love messages to his paramours. He had a high level of intelligence, completed high school, joined the army, and was serving his first sentence, for sodomy.

BISEXUALITY

Several patients were encountered whose emotional life seemed fairly well divided between homosexuality and heterosexuality. One might refer to them as "bisexual" although this is a very loose term and might apply to any degree of combination.

Case No. 4, K. D., had had his initial sexual contact with a girl at the age of nine, and had engaged in intercourse regularly since the age of fifteen. Between periods of incarceration, he frequented red-light districts, and was currently serving a sentence for white slavery. He had also had many homosexual experiences, usually in the male role of fellatio and sodomy, and often for financial gain. He believed that sodomy compared favorably with the normal heterosexual act, and obtained equal satisfaction from either. This white patient was twenty-four years old, an only child, brought up under very unfortunate home circumstances. Since childhood, he had displayed very marked psychopathic behavior, and served many short jail terms. He gave the impression of being dull and awkward, but actually proved superior on psychome-

tric tests. There were no female physical features nor any effeminate affectations.

"Opportunist" could be appropriately applied to some of the patients who were predominantly heterosexual but might engage in homosexuality when female outlets were not easily accessible. In institutional life, they were colloquially referred to as "wolves" as a result of aggressive sexual tendencies which in most cases represented a general aggressiveness obvious in all phases of their personalities. A history of tampering with children, juvenile or adult rape, and bestiality was sometimes brought to light. Members of this group appeared distinctly different from the normal youth who might have an accidental homosexual experience during the exploratory stage of adolescence.

Case No. 5, F. T., was a white lad of nineteen, the youngest of nine siblings, brought up in a home of parental discord. Early in life he had demonstrated vicious, aggressive behavior, threatened to kill his brother and finally shot him through the head, but was acquitted of murder on the grounds of accidental shooting. He had also threatened to kill his father, and beat a horse to death for sheer pleasure. Although still very young, he presented an amazing trail of vicious crimes, and was known as the most incorrigible child ever encountered in the local juvenile court system. He was reluctant to discuss his sex life except to maintain strict heterosexuality. However, during one period of institutionalization, he and another inmate had twisted a third inmate's arm almost to the breaking point while forcing him to submit to rectal sodomy. Under care at the Medical Center, he formed powerful emotional attachments upon several effeminate-mannered youths, tattooing one of his paramour's initials in his own skin. This patient presented normal male physical characteristics and no effeminate mannerisms. He made friends quickly with a superficially warm and likeable manner. Psychometric tests showed a low intellectual level with I. Q. of 82.

LATENT AND DOUBTFUL HOMOSEXUALITY

Passive, inadequate, or feeble-minded individuals who are inadvertently forced to submit to astute, aggressive homosexual partners, by coercion or subterfuge, hardly represent true examples of sexual psychopathy, and will not be presented here. They need real protective care in institutional life.

But doubt often arises concerning the existence of true homosexuality as very well illustrated on the following patient.

Case No. 6, A. M., 37 years old, white, was the second of three siblings, reared in a financially poor but otherwise good, rural home. He had not appeared to be abnormal in childhood and adolescence. First heterosexual contact had occurred at fifteen with a girl of similar age. He had joined the army at eighteen and rendered excellent service for many years. He indicated that he had had many heterosexual experiences with clandestine and professional prostitutes, some of them colored. He had never fallen in love nor had any desire to marry. Criminal record was not significant except for traffic violations and drunkenness. He was apprehended in the female role of fellatio and received a Court Martial sentence of five years, but insisted that he remembered nothing of the incident, having been drunk at the time. Physical development was normal, and there were no female affectations. Psychometric tests revealed a dull normal level. He made an excellent institutional adjustment, and created no suspicion of homosexuality.

Accepting as true the history of a single homosexual experience, under intoxication, are we really dealing with homosexuality? His failure to fall in love or marry, and the rather superficial level of heterosexual adjustment might well be interpreted as expression of latent or unconscious homosexuality which assumed an overt form under the inhibitory release of intoxication.

SUMMARY

1. Some prevailing views on homosexuality have been presented, with special reference to historic features, classification, structural development, the influence of environment, culture and hormones, dynamics, and therapy.
2. Several brief abstracts of cases which were recently under study at the Medical Center are presented, illustrating some of the extreme and many intermediate shade in homosexual-heterosexual composition.

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THE DYNAMIC CONNECTION BETWEEN PERSONALITY
AND CRIME AND THE DETECTION OF THE POTENTIAL
CRIMINAL ILLUSTRATED BY DIFFERENT TYPES
OF MURDER

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To a certain extent each offender selects his own type of crime. Although one might say that such a selection depends upon the circumstances—as for example when a robber is frightened into committing a murder—on the other hand one might say that this individual, within certain limits, brings about those circumstances of which he becomes a victim. Usually the crime chosen is typical of the person who perpetrates it. A person with a low I. Q. will in most cases commit a simple offense, such as breaking through a window and taking some insignificant objects, or he will steal a car, drive it away, leave it and then run away. The more intellectual individual with experience in bookkeeping, for instance, will by complicated manipulations embezzle funds. An exhibitionist will manifest his tendencies, but he will not commit sexual offenses of any other type, such as rape. Even in those cases where the circumstances seem to be the determining factor, the personality factors lurk in the background.

Individuals vary not only in quantity of personality, but also in the constellation of its different components. Each individual has a distinctive pattern of traits and behavior. In fact, it is this manifest pattern which we refer to when we speak of an individual. This being the case, one may assume a close relationship between the person's mind and his act.

This assumption leads to the question of whether there is the same connection between a man and his act as there is between a tree and its fruit. The relationship between a personality and its act is most easily recognized in the case of a great thinker or a great artist where the product clearly reflects the personal traits of the author.⁽¹⁾ In persons not dedicated to an expressive art, however, it is more difficult to ascertain the connection. This difficulty is especially notable in crime because

part of the personality usually repudiates and disowns the criminal act, not only consciously, but unconsciously. But even an apparently senseless or purposeless murder may be shown to be incited by strong, although unconscious motives, if we are able to study the personality thoroughly enough. In a surrogate murder for instance, where a murder is committed against a person who serves as a substitute for the original individual, a dynamic connection between the murder and the original individual may be discovered. An illustration of this type of murder was the case of a taxi driver who murdered a passenger because of the latter's resemblance to his father whom he hated.⁽²⁾

Even homicide, committed in a psychosis, no matter how motiveless it seems, may have been brought into action by unconscious elements, which, if uncovered, will establish the link between the murderer's mind and his crime. In a case I saw some time ago a man suffering from schizophrenia murdered his wife to whom he had been married for 15 years. His story was, in short; as a child his mother had left him and his father for another man. In school he was teased about being "motherless," and he withdrew and became seclusive. When 15 years old he had a love affair, but the girl rebuffed him, although (he said) he "realized she loved him." He became depressed, thought of suicide and felt deserted by everyone. His father took him out to the country where he gradually recovered. Later he went through high school, entered the university which he had to leave because of financial difficulties, and took a job which his father secured for him. He felt he was in the "wrong place" and was going to quit, when a girl who later became his wife, became interested in him and interfered in his plans with the result that he remained in this business concern until he murdered her. Because of the break in his university studies, he could no longer attend his former club of which he had been an ardent member. He became sullen and impervious, and often stayed in bed for days at a time, only drinking water because his thoughts had to be "pure." At other times he was overactive reading books about religion and philosophy. He became less and less sociable, but was able to keep his position in spite of this until he finally requested and obtained a leave of absence. The relations with his wife became strained. She moved away and he threatened to commit suicide whereupon she returned to him. He apparently recovered, started to work, but became more and more suspicious that she was going to leave him again. He became more restless and seclusive than before, "all things went dark," and one evening he shot her to death.

The main point here, beside the identification of his wife with his mother, is that the psychosis seems to be a kind of a preparatory stage to annihilating the victim, a point which also has been emphasized by Dr. Philip R. Lehmann in another case.⁽³⁾

It should be noted that a criminal act has not one but several motives, although only one may be conscious.⁽⁴⁾ The following case will illustrate this: A couple had been engaged for a long time; the engagement was terminated by the girl, who jilted the man in favor of his business partner. The jilted man, of an extremely miserly nature, attributed the recent decline in their business to his partner's lack of interest in it because of his preoccupation with the girl. He schemed revenge. Finally he killed not only his partner but also the girl.

In examining the murder, it was assumed that jealousy was the *only* motive. But, on delving into the murderer's personality structure, it was revealed that he had previously accused his partner of having lost interest in the business. Although one might think that jealousy was the main driving force, nevertheless, this man's miserly attitude was a decisive factor in this tragedy. This miserliness was a basic constituent in his personality that colored his whole life and nurtured his jealousy. On a deeper level, both the jealousy and the miserliness were related to infantile experiences which determined the irrational and self-destructive reaction of murder.

The few examples of homicide, cited above, indicate that every murder has to a greater or lesser degree its own pattern and background. A strong motivation to commit homicide is jealousy. The psychological mechanism behind such an act, is that the individual's self-esteem and prestige is injured. The individual believes he possesses the partner and this makes him jealous. By killing the latter, the self-esteem is restored.

The varying direction of homicidal jealousy often reveals the underlying personality conflict. A young person in love with a young partner will kill the subject of his love, whereas an older one will frequently kill the rival. In the latter case, there may be present a sexual inadequacy or impotence of which the individual is only vaguely conscious.

Somewhat different is the situation where strong mother attachment is present. A widely known case is the following: A 50 year old, highly intellectual teacher, with a strong attachment for his mother, killed an 18 year old girl and afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt at suicide. Later he admitted he had completely identified the girl with

his mother. He believed that the girl should belong to him, in the same way as his mother had been attached to him. When he discovered that the girl had another man, he feared he was going to lose her, which to him in a psychological sense, meant losing his mother.

When abnormalities are originally present in the person's make-up, criminal tendencies are more easily elicited. Crime activities and mental pathologies are to be compared with two plants that derive their nutrition from the same soil. Drs. Healy and Bronner found by comparing a small group of delinquent children with their non-delinquent siblings that 91% of the delinquents and only 13% of the non-delinquents had deep emotional disturbances.⁽⁵⁾ Drs. Bromberg and Thompson examined 10,000 prisoners at the Psychiatric Clinic, Court of General Sessions, New York City, and found that 10.8% showed gross mental abnormalities.⁽⁶⁾ Somewhat smaller figures (about 6%) were found by Dr. Cassity in a study of 200 murderers.⁽⁷⁾

The last figures given might convey the impression that the rest of the murderers, about 94%, were within the normal borders of personality or at least did not show demonstrably abnormal traits. It should be noted, however, that the prisoners did not receive a prolonged psychiatric-psychologic examination because of the short time available, and that this, together with the difficulty in detecting possible abnormal traits, may account for the apparently low rate of abnormality discovered. Keeping in mind that 38% of the murderers were previous offenders, which in itself might indicate some mental deviations, and that 50% were intoxicated,⁽⁸⁾ and a part of these would also show abnormal traits, it is reasonable to assume that by thorough examination one would be able to ascertain a much greater prevalence of traits having a *pathologic quality in murderers*.

This is a point of paramount importance. Even if the individual is not considered insane in the legal sense, the discovery of pathologic features in his personality indicates an underlying pathological process. The criterion of a murderer's "sanity" or "insanity" should be based not only upon the murderer or the act in itself, but also upon the *connection between the murderer and his act*, i. e. upon the relationship between his mind and the act accomplished.

As pointed out before when an individual performs a murder, it is usually done in a manner corresponding to his mental attitude. It is therefore not enough to say that the connection between the dead and the killer is clear when he has confessed and the corpse is present. The story that leads up to the fatal act, the manner in which the homicide

was carried out, and the murderer's behavior before, during and after the act will show in many cases the deeper and more intimate relationship. What has to be determined in the cases where a psychosis is not obvious, is the relation between the individual's make-up and his act. This relationship is a decisive criterion in judging whether or not the man has an abnormal mind.

Thus, in cases where a murderer appears normal, one must ask whether, previous to, at, or following the time that the crime was committed his emotions, thoughts and will were deviated from the normal line to such an extent that they reached a pathologic quality. If such a pathologic quality is present, then one must ask whether the presence of these characteristics was the main force which caused the murder.

The following case shows how a man seemingly without obvious abnormal traits may become a murderer: A 42 year old worker killed his wife with an axe. The immediate circumstance leading up to the murder was that his wife, after having received the largest part of his salary, asked him to give her the rest of it. He gave her the money, turned around, seized an axe, and then killed her.

A superficial examination might lead one to the belief that the man killed his wife because he was driven into a sudden passion of anger over money. His previous history, however, revealed the following facts:

They were both born and raised in the same community. Her home environment was one of constant bickering, quarreling and disagreements. He was a factory worker and she was intellectually his superior. They had to marry because she had become pregnant. At first they lived near the factory where he worked, but she was restless and could not remain in one place for long, so they moved about. She objected to his visiting his parents, and scolded him continually. When he was home, he had to take care of their four children, while she went visiting her family, and when her relatives were out of work, they lived in his house for many months. Her sister stayed with them for a long time. Later another sister with three children came to live with them. The house was overcrowded and life was intolerable for him and the children. A condition of "War of Nerves," so to speak, existed.

Two years before the murder, he heard that his wife was associating with another man, but he could not prove whether or not this was true. In any event, the relations between them became steadily worse. She took all the money he earned, complained that everything he did was wrong, made him the scapegoat for everything that occurred in the home, and thus increased his uncertainty and feelings of inferiority.

The last months before the murder, his earnings were slight and in order to support his family, he worked in a factory at night, and drove a car in the daytime. He was exhausted when he came home. One day his wife started her usual nagging, accusing him of not supporting her and the children. When she finally asked for the rest of his money, he gave it to her, and then killed her. The murder is to be considered not as a sudden irrational act, but as a result of long accumulated bitterness and passive rebellion of masochistic coloring.

The judge in the case, recognizing this fact, stated that the man did not act from a criminal will in the usual sense, but of a greatly harassed and tortured mind. For this reason the murderer was regarded with leniency and received a short sentence.

From a psychiatric point of view, however, it is too naive to say that this man was tortured to the breaking point and that murder seemed the *only* solution to his troubles indicates a basic inadequacy in his personality which was shown over a long period in his inability to live with his wife or to break away from her. The judge's statement is not clear to the experienced psychiatrist who would ask what "a criminal will in the *usual* sense" is.

There is no such scientific entity as "a criminal will." I doubt whether individuals exist who perpetrate criminal acts without to some extent having experienced some kind of inner conflict more or less connected with some development of hate in childhood resulting in feelings of anxiety, and guilt, or in a self-punishing mechanism such as is seen in the above cases.⁽⁹⁾ It is by uncovering the unconscious that we are able to trace many of the motives to anti-social activities. When a man kills a person it is safe to say that he killed him a long time before he actually committed the homicide. The same protracted development also takes place in suicide as pointed out by Dr. Karl A. Menninger.⁽¹⁰⁾

From the psychiatric and criminological point of view it is therefore imperative that every person accused of murder or any other serious crime, be examined psychiatrically before trial, by a qualified criminologist appointed by the State, to determine his mental condition.

To go into detail as to how this examination is done is impossible here, but its purpose is to find the predominating features in the personality structure which enable one to explain the dynamics of the personality, the course of events and his state of mind. Psychiatrists are sometimes apt to be accused of "sentimentality" in regard to criminals because they do not make moral discriminations. For example, some murderers behave in a peculiarly callous, and unfeeling manner. To the public this

makes the crime more heinous. But the psychiatrist sees this as a characteristic way of handling anxiety. The following cases illustrate this point: In one case a man killed his mother, put her body into a suitcase, and then went to a movie with his girl friend. In another case, a man, after having killed his girl friend by throwing her down a steep cliff, went to a stadium where he played football.

These murderers continued their activities as if nothing had happened and when eventually caught and examined, the lay examiner was puzzled and horrified by their apparent indifference. The psychiatrist recognizes such behavior as a pathological means of relieving unconscious tension.

This psychological technique of finding relief from guilt feeling by repudiating responsibility for the criminal act, is commonly seen in convicted murderers serving a life sentence where the conscious motive for concealment and self-preservation does not enter into as large an extent as it does before the criminal is apprehended. Such prisoners frequently offer the examiner transparent rationalizations concerning their motives and acts which are more in the nature of self-deceptions than conscious, self-protective deception.⁽¹¹⁾

This is particularly true when the murderer does not know the reason for the examination.⁽¹²⁾ It is, therefore, important that he be informed in advance of the reason for the examination and that the examiner endeavor to become acquainted with, and gain the confidence of the murderer through conversations on other subjects prior to any discussion of the homicide. A murderer, like any other offender, will usually be on guard and suspicious of the intrusion on the part of the examiner. In any event the examiner must use insight based on scientific study in observing and recording the intellectual, emotional and behavior pattern characteristic of the murderer.

What practical conclusions can we now draw, if and when we are able to detect the motivation for homicide? If we know the forces that drive a man to murder, we can, provided the case is suitable for deep psychological therapy, and the circumstances are favorable, help him to grasp his own situation, make him understand his own personality structure and enable him to find acceptable, socially constructive channels for his primitive aggressions, thus making possible his re-education. We may possibly succeed in discovering these forces in individuals before a homicide or another type of crime is committed. If we know that certain inner conflicts, frustrations and disappointments cause lifelong

suffering which may culminate in a crime, such as homicide, we may be able to detect and prevent potential crimes.

The practical measure must therefore be the establishment of clinics in which anti-social persons in conflict with society would receive examination and treatment. During the present circumstances with a total war going on, such an underaking seems out of the question, but an ever increasing rate of juvenile delinquency makes it more imperative than during peace. As a subsidiary solution the out-patient clinics for nervous and mental diseases might extend their present service to include this type of work were it not that they are quite inadequate in number and facilities. The clinics proposed here should have for their purpose the examination and treatment of mentally and socially maladjusted human beings. Psychiatry is a social science, and the psychiatrist has, therefore, a responsibility toward society. Besides curing the mentally sick, it is doubtful whether psychiatry can have a more dignified, edifying and helpful task than to try to save these potential criminals whose mental abnormalities are not understood either by themselves or by society. In doing so psychiatry will assist society to eliminate one of its darkest aspects, an aspect no less unworthy than was its former inhumane treatment of the mentally ill.

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SELF EMASCULATION*

One of the most unusual cases that has ever been investigated by the State Police was one in which the defendant unconsciously reverted to the practice of flagellation, although in a somewhat modified degree.

During March 1941, Stanley Gaec, of Buffalo, N. Y., went to work as a farm laborer for Joseph Conti at Brant, N. Y. Shortly after Easter, Stanley Gaec and Sebastian Conti went to Buffalo to pick up George Kokoszka who had been hired to work on the Conti Farm. George and Stanley became friendly and lived together in a small shack on the Conti Farm.

On Sunday, April 20, the owner told Stanley and George to move their belongings from the shack as he was going to paint the interior. George and Stanley removed the two beds and mattresses and numerous card-board boxes, the complete content of the shack and in order to fortify themselves for this strenuous task and since it was Sunday, the day of rest, they had been partaking of much wine. They were not intoxicated but were sufficiently stimulated to indulge in a bit of horseplay. George slapped Sebastian on the back of the neck and Sebastian having a boil on his neck, snapped at George, "Do that again and see what happens." In spite of continued slapping on each other's part, nothing did happen, just then.

After the shack was painted, a discussion arose between George and Stanley as to where they should sleep that night. One wanted to sleep in the barn and the other wanted to move the stuff back into the shanty and sleep there. It was finally decided to occupy the shack for the night and so they both helped in moving everything back into the shanty. Stanley went about straightening things out while George went to visit some friends nearby. On his return to the shack, George saw Stanley still working around so he went to the rear of the shanty and picked up

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a hay fork which was standing against the back wall. Picking up the fork, George returned to the door and saw that Stanley was stooped over fixing one of the mattresses. Without saying a word, George stabbed Stanley with the fork knocking him to the ground. George stabbed him several times and then ran out of the shack and threw the fork in front of the shanty. He ran across a plowed field to a nearby shanty where he stayed until 9:30 that night. While there he did not say anything about the stabbing to either of the two occupants of this shanty. He then returned to the shanty and found the door locked. He went over to the Conti house where Mr. Conti told him that Stanley went to the hospital. George then went to bed and getting up at the usual hour went about his morning's work. At noon he returned to the shanty to prepare his lunch. Deliberating on what he should do, he finally decided to go to Buffalo and so started walking towards Angola, a small village in Erie County. He stopped at a small creek about five minutes walk from the shack and smoked a cigarette. There he fell asleep for about two hours. Upon awakening, he continued on his journey and just as he crossed the creek, he states, that two men jumped from the bushes and threw a coat over his head. They knocked him to the ground and one of them sat on his chest and the other held his legs. He then felt a sharp pain in his sexual organs and his heart and then everything went black.

On April 20th, the Buffalo City Hospital notified the Wanankah Precinct of Troop "A" to the effect that one, Stanley Gaec, had been admitted and was suffering from numerous stab wounds, which, the patient emphatically stated, were caused by some person stabbing him with a hay fork while riding on a hay wagon.

The B. C. I. investigators questioned Stanley at the hospital and he finally admitted that George Kokoszka had stabbed him with a hay fork. He could not give any reason why the stabbing had taken place. Stanley was suffering from numerous stab wounds on the forehead and face, three puncture wounds over the left collar bone, one puncture wound just to the left of the breast bone and the left lung punctured.

The investigators arrived at the Conti Farm at about 1:00 P. M., April 20th in search of George. In searching the many out-buildings and barns, the only trace that could be found was the still warm coffee that George had prepared for his lunch. The rest of the day and night

was spent in a search of saloons and taverns of the nearby village but were without success.

On April 23rd, the investigators were informed that George had returned to the Conti farm. Proceeding to the farm, the investigators found George sitting on the bed in the shanty removing his clothes. His trousers were a mass of blood and it was evident that George had been injured. He was immediately removed to the hospital where examination revealed that he had been castrated. On questioning, George told his story of the attack by the two men at the creek and said he woke up in a hay stack near-by.

A search of the alleged scene of castration revealed the presence of two testicles and a large quantity of blood in a hay stack. On further questioning, George changed his story and said the attack took place at the hay stack and that he remained unconscious from Monday to Wednesday afternoon. He further stated he was robbed of two dollars.

Examination of George's wound disclosed that the castration had been performed with a very sharp instrument. The investigators learned that George usually used a straight razor for shaving, which razor could not be found. When questioned about this razor, George said it must have been stolen, because on Sunday morning he went out of the shack to get some water and upon his return the razor was missing. He thought Stanley had taken it as Stanley had originally given him the razor.

The investigating officers did not believe George's story about the attack and subsequent castration and so requested a Lie Detector test to determine the truth. The late Dr. Kirschberg proceeded to Batavia to administer a Deception test, using the Pathometer or Psycho-Galvanometer. This was to be Dr. Kirschberg's last case as his death occurred the day following his return to the Laboratory. During the preliminary questioning, Kokoszka was emphatic and very descriptive as to how he had been attacked. However, when the electrodes were applied to the palms of his hand and the mechanism of the test explained to him, he quickly changed his attitude and confessed that his injury was *self-inflicted*.

In his confession Kokoszka stated that "while working Monday, I began thinking about my act of attacking Stanley on Sunday. I knew

I did wrong. I never harmed anybody in my life. I fought as a Polish soldier and was in France in 1917 and in Poland on the eastern front with the 149th Polish Infantry but as a man I never hurt anyone. My conscience bothered me and the more I thought about it, the more I decided I should *punish myself*. The thought came to me that if I castrated myself such an injury would kill me and I wanted to die. I laid on the hay and exposed my sexual parts and started cutting myself from the front going downward. It was a terrific pain. I cut the testicles out and threw them on the hay and then threw the razor into the hay at the same time. I was bleeding and must have fainted and I fell asleep and slept until Wednesday. I was ashamed to tell the truth as I was hoping the injury would kill me."

On July 1, 1941, George Kokoszka plead guilty to a reduced charge of assault third degree before County Judge George H. Rowe, Buffalo, N. Y., and was sentenced to one year in Erie County Penitentiary at Wende, N. Y., and was fined \$250.00.

It is interesting to learn that the motive for the self-emasculation was the great desire to atone for having committed a serious wrong. Punishment to one's self in atonement for a sin was the principle of flagellation only the flagellants did not resort to self-emasculation but confined their punishment to self-inflicted whippings, hence the derivation of the name, as "flagellum" means a scourge or lash. The flagellants of old were accustomed to whip themselves as a form of punishment. It was not until the 13th century when the practice of flagellation became attributed as a churchly rite. The distinguishing feature of the Flagellants and one of the most interesting was their procession.

When the Flagellant movement crossed from Italy into the Teutonic countries, its whole nature changed. A ceremonial was developed and almost as fast, a specialized doctrine that soon degenerated into heresy. The Flagellants became an organized sect with severe discipline and extravagant claims. They wore a white habit and mantle on each of which was a red cross whence in some parts they became known as "Brotherhood of the Cross." Whosoever desired to join this brotherhood was bound to remain in it for 33 and a half-day—to swear obedience to the Masters of the organization—to possess at least 4 pence a day for his support—to be reconciled to all men and if married to have

the sanction of his wife. The ceremonial of the Flagellants seems to have been much the same in northern cities. Twice a day proceeding slowly to the public square or to the principal church they put off their shoes, stripped themselves to the waist and prostrated themselves in a large circle. By their posture they indicated the nature of their sins they intended to expiate—the murderer lying on his back, the adulterer on his face, the perjurer on one side holding up three fingers, etc. First, they were beaten by the master, then rising, they scourged themselves severely. At the end the master read a letter supposedly brought from heaven by an angel. This stated that Christ, angry at the sins of mankind had threatened to destroy the world but had ordained all who join the Brotherhood for thirty-three and on-half days should be saved. The reading of this letter following the shock to the emotions caused by the public penance of the Flagellants aroused much excitement among the populace. In spite of protests of the educated, thousands enrolled. Great processions marched from town to town with crosses, lights and banners. They walked slowly three or four abreast bearing their knotted scourges and chanting melancholy hymns. As the number grew, the pretenses of the leaders developed. They confessed a ridiculous horror of even accidental contacts with women and insisted it was of obligation to fast rigidly on Tuesdays. A few of them hoped to establish a lasting wall to the Catholic Church but very soon the author took action and endeavored to suppress the movement. Pope Clement VI condemned the movement and prohibited the procession by letters dated October 20, 1349. However, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was recrudescences of this and similar heresies.

The origin of the Flagellants was at one time attributed to missionary efforts of St. Anthony of Padua, early in the 13th century and this was later shown untrue. Throughout the 13th century there appeared groups of brotherhoods which practiced self-flagellation. This was being done as a penitent act and would be carried on for thirty-three and a half-days in honor of Christ's life on earth. This movement would die out only to spring up again in a different part of the country. The Flagellant movement was only one of the many manias that afflicted the end of the Middle Age.

Perhaps our modern psychologists will not agree that our subject case of self-emasculation is a subconscious reversion to the practice of flagellation but surely we must agree that self-emasculation as a penance is one not of the ordinary.

THE PRISONERS PERSONALITY SCALE A METHOD OF PENAL RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of the present study was to construct a Prisoners Personality Scale which would be of practical value in connection with the morale, attitudes, classification, and prediction of behavior of prisoners in the penitentiaries, correctional institutions, and reformatories of different penal systems. We have collected a large number of attitudes, feelings, likes, and dislikes from inmates of penal institutions. A Trial Form of an attitude or personality scale has been constructed and administered to inmates in five different institutions. The

Trial Form of the attitude scale has been revised and standardized into a Personality Scale, and a number of practical applications of the Personality Scale have been described.

The original like-dislike items and material were collected from 620 inmate subjects at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Mo.; and the revision and standardization of the Trial Form of the scale into the Personality Scale was based on the results of 450 inmate subjects at the U. S. Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Ind.; the U. S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kan.; the Federal Reformatory, El Reno, Okla.; the Federal Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio; and the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Mo. The number and variety of inmate subjects were good, and the results are fairly representative of the kind of prisoners we wished to study.

The systematic method which we followed was to collect the items and material for the Scale from the kind of persons who would later be required to take the standardized Scale. This procedure should be followed in the construction of any kind of test or scale, but it is rarely used because of the pains and effort required.

The material in most of the intelligence tests which have been used on prisoners was standardized on grammar school children; and most of the personality scales which have been used on prisoners were standardized on college students. Many of these tests and scales have been used on subjects and in situations where they were never intended to be used. If a test were standardized on school children, it may be a suitable test for school children; and if the material included in a personality scale were originally obtained from college students, it may be an appropriate scale for college students; but the items and material obtained from school children and college students are not suitable for, or applicable to, adult prisoners. It is therefore not surprising that the scores of adult prisoners on many psychological tests and scales frequently have an improbable appearance.

The special characteristics of the present Personality Scale are due to the fact that the items and material in the Scale were originally obtained from a large number of prisoners, the Scale was standardized on a large number of prisoners, and the Scale has been, and will be, administered to prisoners. Another difference between the Personality Scale and other psychological tests or scales is that in most psychological tests or scales, the individual items of the test or scale do not have any meaning in, or reference to, prison and penal situations; and this is the reason the individual items of the test are seldom referred to in present-

ing and describing test results obtained on prisoners. In the present Personality Scale, the great majority of the items in the Scale have a direct reference to prison and penal matters, the items are interesting and significant for prisoners and for prison officials, and the grades which prisoners give the individual items of the Scale are important in themselves. One can therefore expect much more in a practical way from the present Personality Scale, in prison and penal situations, than from the average psychological test or scale.

A careful and comprehensive study of prisoners' attitudes, feelings, likes, and dislikes had not been made before the present investigation. Metfessel and Lovell (1942) have summarized the literature on the personality test scores of delinquents and prisoners, and the systematic errors which have been made in these investigations have been best described by Farber (1941). In Polansky's (1942) study, 51 inmates at the Iowa State Prison were asked 14 questions, and the principal interest was in sociological patterns. The general procedure used in collecting, classifying, and phrasing the items of the Personality Scale has already been described in a previous study by the present writer (1936), and we have also described (1939) the test construction principles which are involved in the Personality Scale.

THE LIKE-DISLIKE SCALE

1. *Criteria Used in Selecting the Like-Dislike Items and Material.*

The following criteria were used in selecting the like-dislike items and material at various stages of the present study: (1) Each like-dislike item should be fairly common among prisoners in general. (2) The topic referred to by each item should have a wide and fairly permanent application among prisoners. The item should possess the desirable trait of generality. (3) Each item should be of some practical significance in different prison systems. (4) Each item should be of definite emotional importance for prisoners. (5) The phraseology of each item should be clear and unambiguous, and each item should be understood in the same way by different prisoners and by different prison officials. (6) For various psychological and statistical reasons, it is very desirable to use items which will be graded differently by different subjects. (7) The items should not state, insinuate, or suggest anything that is not true. (8) The items should not suggest certain types of changes or criticisms. (9) The phraseology of each item should be in good taste. (10) The items should appeal to the practical judgment and intelligence of prisoners and officials.

2. *Collecting the Like-Dislike Items and Material.* The original like-dislike items and material were collected from 620 inmates in the honor building, prison camp, psychopathic unit, receiving ward, chronic infirm ward, and other wards and buildings at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Mo. The procedure used in collecting the like-dislike items and material from these inmates was as follows:

a. The inmate subjects were taken in groups varying in size from four men on maximum custody to groups of 40 men.

b. The inmates were asked to think about the stronger and more emotional likes, dislikes, and attitudes of themselves and of others both in and out of prisons, courts, etc. They were given some suggestive aids in recalling the items, but an attempt was made not to prejudice their selection of the items.

c. They were asked to write each item on a separate 3 x 5 inch slip of paper, and they were asked to include any conditions or attendant circumstances which were in any way associated with the items.

d. We made a special effort to overcome the strong suspicion which inmates have for any attempt to obtain an expression of their true attitudes and feelings, and an anonymous procedure was followed in order to obtain their best cooperation.

Many different kinds of prisoners were represented among the 620 inmate subjects at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, and the 7900 original like-dislike items which were collected from these subjects constituted a good set of material for a start.

3. *Classifying the Like-Dislike Items.* The original like-dislike items obtained from the Springfield subjects were classified in such a way that there would be one place and only one place in the classification for each item. The groups and subdivisions of the classification were decided upon only after they were suggested and required by the original items themselves. All of the items were arranged in a vertical tab system so that the groups and subdivisions of original items dealing with any topic could be easily found.

4. *Phrasing the Like-Dislike Items.* We studied successively each group and subdivision of original items in the classification, and used the criteria described in Section 1 in selecting items for the Trial Form of the like-dislike scale. We went through all of the original items and material, and tried to express the items and ideas of the inmates in their

own words. An attempt was made to retain the most important ideas of the prisoners, and we rephrased or omitted all items which did not meet the criteria of selection described above. We added several items which the original subjects omitted but which they should have included, and several other disguised and more or less subtle items were also added in order to increase the value of the scale in predicting behavior in prison situations and after release.

5. *The Trial Form of the Like-Dislike Scale.* The Trial Form of the like-dislike scale was constructed by the procedure described above. The Trial Form was later revised into the Personality Scale which is given in Table 2. The general form of the Trial Form and the Personality Scale was the same, but the Trial Form contained a larger number of items. In the Trial Form, the items were numbered consecutively, and the names of the principal groups and subdivisions of the classification, and the detailed directions to the inmate subjects for taking the scale, were included in the form. The key used in grading the items was printed separately for convenience on 3x5 inch cards.

RESULTS FROM DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS

Some sample results obtained with the Trial Form at the Springfield, Leavenworth, Terre Haute, Chillicothe, and El Reno institutions will be described in Sections 6 to 13, and these results will show the kind of data which can be obtained with our Personality Scale. The way these results were used in revising the Trial Form into the Personality Scale (Table 2) will be described in Sections 14 and 15.

6. *Arrangements for Giving the Trial Form.* Arrangements were made by Dr. Marion R. King, Medical Director, Bureau of Prisons, and by Mr. James V. Bennett, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, for giving the Trial Form at the five institutions mentioned above. It was requested that a group of about 100 inmate subjects be selected at each institution, and that each group of subjects meet the following general requirements: (1) each subject should be fairly normal, balanced, and integrated, (2) he should be above average in ordinary (not test score) intelligence, (3) he should be able to read and understand the English language, (4) he should have been at the local institution at least six months, and (5) the group of inmate subjects, within the limits described above, should be roughly representative of the local population with respect to age, race, number of convictions, years incarcerated, current conviction, length of sentence, custody, and behavior record.

7. *Procedure Used with the Trial Form.* a. The subjects were taken in groups varying in size from 20 to 60 men, and each subject was seated in such a way that he could not see what any other subject wrote.

b. Each subject was supplied with the mimeographed Trial Form, a pencil, and a separate copy on a 3x5 inch card of the key for grading the items.

c. At the beginning of each group session I made an announcement and statement, lasting about 20 minutes, in regard to the general purpose of the study and the procedure to be used in grading the items. The subjects were told that they were not being tested, but were being asked to help in the revision and standardization of the Trial Form of the Scale.

d. The Trial Form was graded anonymously, and there was no identification of any of the papers. The subjects were encouraged to ask questions at any time. Only three out of 500 subjects asked to be excused from taking the scale, and the cooperation which was secured was very good.

e. The session for each group lasted almost two hours. With each group we had different subjects start at different places in the scale because of the long list of items and in order to equalize the variable factors of interest, adaptation, and fatigue. All subjects, however, were asked to grade all of the items.

f. The subjects were asked to criticize the phrasing of any items which was not clear, any items which seemed unimportant, and any items which they did not believe inmates would answer truthfully. These critical comments were written in the body of the scale.

8. *Trial Subjects.* A total of 500 subjects graded the Trial Form at the five institutions. In order to improve the quality of the results, but without prejudicing the data in any way, we discarded the graded or partly graded blanks of about 10 per cent of the subjects. The number of subjects from each institution whose results were used in the calculations described in Sections 9, 10, and 11 was as follows: Terre Haute, 90; El Reno, 96; Chillicothe, 74; Leavenworth, 103; Springfield, 48; total, 411.

The subjects were selected by the associate wardens, psychologists, and physicians. We could not determine the exact extent to which the general requirements mentioned in Section 6 were met at the different institutions, but for our purposes the selection of subjects was very good.

9. *Sample Results from Different Institutions.* Some sample results on 47 items are given in Table I in order to show the kind of results which can be obtained with the Personality Scale. In Table I, the five institutions are referred to as A, B, C, D, and E so that the identity of the institutions will not be known. The numbers of the items used in Table I correspond with the number of the items as shown in Table II.

The directions for grading the items of the Trial Form were similar to those which were used later in grading the items of the Personality Scale (Table 2). Each subject was asked to grade each item in the Trial Form according to the degree of liking or disliking; and in calculating the results of individual subjects on the Trial Form, we took account of the five grades, +2, +1, 0, -1, and -2, the marks X, and the failures to grade or mark the item in any way (blanks). The total number of blanks and X marks was very small.

The calculation of each of the scores in the first five columns of Table I may be described in connection with item 1 and the A group. For this item and group, there were 11 grades of +2, 41 grade of +1, 23 grades of 0, 11 grades of -1, and 15 grades of -2. There were two X marks and no blanks. The total number of grades was 101, and the Mean score was +.22. This Mean score was multiplied by 10 in order to avoid fractions, and the nearest whole number (+2) was the score which was included in the table. Although the total number of grades differed for the different groups of subjects, they differed only slightly for the different items. The calculation of each of the Mean scores in the first five columns of Table I was carried out in the same manner.

For item 1, the best measure for institution A is the Mean score of +2, and this Mean score may be accepted as the norm or most representative value for this item and this institution. The Mean score or norm for institution B on the same item is 0, etc.

The scores in Table I have a theoretical range from -20 to +20, or a total theoretical range of 40; and these scores have to be interpreted with reference to the key used in grading the items (Table II). A value of +10 means "Like or would like a definite amount" and +5 means that the degree of liking is half way between "Like or would like a definite amount" and "More or less indifferent."

The scores in the sixth column of Table I are the Averages of the five Mean scores in the first five columns, and in obtaining these Averages, equal weight was given to the scores of the five institutions. For item 1, the best single measure is the Average value of +1, and this

Average may be accepted as the norm or most representative value which we have for federal prisoners. The Average or norm for federal prisoners on item 6 is 0, etc.

There were 421 items in the Trial Form, and the Averages of these 421 items ranged from -16 to $+16$, with a total range of 32. The Average of these 421 Averages was $+1.6$, the Median was $+2.3$, and the Average Deviation (A.D.) was 7.4.

10. *Similar Results from Different Institutions.* In the case of items 22, 130, 136, 156, 277, 285 and 298 in Table I, the maximum difference between any two Mean scores for the five institutions is only two points on the scale from -20 to $+20$; and this maximum variation of only two points is quite small compared with the total theoretical range of 40 points. On item 22, for example, the Mean scores of the five institutions are -14 , -12 , -13 , and -14 .

In the results on the 421 items of the Trial Form there were 60 items where the maximum difference between any two Mean scores for the five institutions was only two points. The Average of these 60 items ranged from -16 to $+16$, the 25%ile (Q-1) was -8.5 , the 50%ile (Median) was $+7.0$, and the 75%ile (Q-3) was $+10.7$.

These results show wide and very reliable differences between the Means of some of the items. Although the Means of the different institutions are quite similar for each of these items, it should be kept in mind that the individual subjects at each institution gave different grades for each of these items, and some of these items may therefore have diagnostic and predictive value for individual inmates.

11. *Different Results from Different Institutions.* In the case of 29 items in Table I, the Mean score of at least one of the five institutions differs from the Average of the four other institutions by at least five points on the scale from -20 to $+20$. For each of the five institutions, the best standard of comparison is the Average of the four other institutions. On item 27, for example, the Mean scores of the five institutions are -3 , -2 , $+6$, $+2$, and $+3$. Institution A (score of -3) differs -5 from the Average of B, C, D, and E; and institution C ($+6$) differs $+6$ from the Average of A, B, D, and E.

These results show some very interesting and important differences between the attitudes and feelings of prisoners at the different institutions, and they show that the Personality Scale is an important means of finding out the attitudes and feelings of prisoners. Item 35 shows that

the inmates at institution A do not like their living quarters as well as the inmates at institutions B and C. The C inmates like the system of extra privilege classification (item 45) and the employees (92). E is critical of the employees' treatment of inmates (103), the medical treatment (107), the food (143), the time allowed for eating (150), and the clothes (219). A is critical of the social service department (119), the commissary department (225), the conditional release law (241), and the discharge clothes (253), etc.

In the results on the 421 items of the Trial Form, there were 99 items where the Mean score of at least one of the five groups differed from the Average of the four other institutions by at least five points on the scale from -20 to +20. The largest number of deviations occurred in the C group, and the smallest number in the B group.

12. *Correlation Between Two Groups of Subjects.* At one of the five institutions, the Trial Form was graded by two groups of 48 inmates under somewhat different conditions. In order to determine the influence, if any, of the two different conditions, we made separate calculations of the Mean scores of the two groups for each of the 421 items in the Trial Form, and calculated the coefficient of correlation between the Mean scores. The correlation was $+.97$ plus-minus $.03$, and this is about as high a correlation as it is possible to obtain with data of this kind. The Probable Error (0.3) of the correlation was also small.

It is important that such a high correlation was obtained between the Mean scores of the two groups of subjects in spite of the fact that the two groups did not grade the items under the same conditions. The size of the correlation indicates that the Mean scores of a group of 48 subjects are quite reliable, and that as far as group results are concerned and for all practical purposes, a group of 48 subjects will give approximately the same results as a group of 96 subjects.

13. *Results on Psychopathic Subjects.* The Trial Form was given to 39 inmates in the Psychopathic Unit, Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Mo. The results on these subjects were not included in the results of the five institutions described above. Some of the differences between the Mean scores of these subjects and the Averages of the five institutions may be briefly mentioned.

Psychopaths are much more critical of court procedures, general institutional matters, institutional routine, the employees, professional services, and inmate activities than the average prisoner. They are more critical in matters which do not concern them directly. They are more

demanding in the matter of privileges even when the privileges which they have are the same as those which are given to other prisoners.

THE PERSONALITY SCALE

We have now described the construction of the Trial Form of the scale, and have also given the procedures used and some sample results obtained with the same form. In the next two sections we shall describe the revision of the Trial Form into the Personality Scale, and some practical applications of the Personality Scale will be given in Sections 16 to 21.

14. *Revision of the Trial Form.* The Trial Form was revised principally with the aid of the results obtained from the five different institutions, and we made some further use of the criteria of selecting the items, described in Section I. We made some further use especially of the following criteria: each item should possess the trait of generality, each item should be of definite emotional importance for prisoners, each item should be clearly and unambiguously expressed, and there should be some scatter in the grades of different subjects.

The detailed results on each of the 421 items from the different groups of subjects were examined, and account was taken of the number of X marks, blanks, the scatter of the individual grades, and the comments and criticisms of some of the inmate subjects. Several items were omitted because we did not believe prisoners would answer them truthfully, and other items were omitted because the answers to them were already fairly well known.

In the case of 40 items, the item was retained but the phraseology of the item was changed; and the kinds of changes made in these items may be illustrated by the following examples. "Combination service plus probation sentences" was changed to "Sentences with a period of probation to follow". "The privilege of having more than one visit a month" was changed to "To have more than one visit a month". "For stool-pigeons to be segregated" was changed to "For stool-pigeons to be kept separated from other inmates". "Active (masculine) homosexuals" was changed to "Active, masculine homosexuals (wolves)". "To be in the armed forces" was changed to "To be in military service", etc.

15. *The Personality Scale.* A complete copy of the Personality Scale is given in Table II. The blank spaces at the beginning of the Scale are for the subject's name, number, etc. The directions to the

subjects and the key used in grading the items are improved, and the names of the groups and subdivisions of the classification are retained in the body of the Scale. In administering the Scale, the examiner should make a brief introductory statement about the nature and purpose of the Scale, and he should answer any kind of questions which may be asked.

The Personality Scale can be easily understood by those who are not familiar with psychological procedures and also by those who are not especially experienced in prison matters. About one hour will be required to administer the Scale to the average inmate or to a group of fairly normal inmates, and the Scale can be easily administered to groups of 75 or 100 prisoners at a time. With certain types of feeble-minded and psychotic inmates, it will probably be desirable to administer the Scale individually or in small groups.

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE PERSONALITY SCALE

The immediate applications of the Personality Scale which are possible are described in Sections 16 and 17. The special scoring methods which are described in Sections 18 to 21 can be worked out in a few weeks or months. A close examination of these applications of the Personality Scale will show, I believe, that they can be widely used in penitentiaries, correctional institutions, and reformatories of different penal systems.

16. *Individual Results.* The Personality Scale is concerned with everyday prison and penal matters, and the grades which inmates give the individual items of the Scale will be interesting and important in themselves. The first consideration should be given to the grades and results of individual inmates. It will be desirable to give the Personality Scale to practically all inmates, and the graded Personality Scale of each inmate can be put in his jacket. Central Tendencies and norms may also be calculated for each of the items in the Scale.

The individual grades of a prisoner on the Personality Scale are the way he grades the items at the time he takes the Scale. It is assumed that prisoners will not always tell the truth when they are taking psychological tests and also when they are being interviewed or are being given psychiatric examinations; and it is often necessary to interpret the results of tests, interviews, and examinations in relation to other things which are known about the subject. We have done all that we can do for the time being at least to increase the validity of the Personality Scale; and some preliminary trials indicate that the reliability of the

Scale, for different kinds of subjects, and as measured by the test-retest method, seems to lie between .80 and .95.

17. *Scores of Different Groups of Prisoners.* The Mean and Average scores of groups of prisoners are more reliable than the grades and results of individual prisoners. Inmates may or may not take the Scale anonymously, and one may or may not emphasize individual results; but one always has group results when the grades of several individual subjects have been obtained.

In calculating group results in a single institution, the inmates can be grouped according to offense, length of sentence, custody, behavior record, residence, work assignment, etc. The most appropriate grouping will depend to some extent upon the particular institution. The scores of different groups of inmates will give the local officials and others much concrete and important information in regard to the attitudes and feelings of different groups and kinds of inmates within the same institution.

One of the most general uses which can be made of the Personality Scale will be to obtain sample results and scores from a representative group of inmates at each of the several institutions in a penal system. It would be sufficient to give the Personality Scale to a representative group of 30 or 40 inmates at each institution; and in order to avoid the possibility of obtaining misleading results from some institutions, it will be necessary to select the subjects and administer the Scale by an objective procedure. Some person not connected with the local institution should administer the Scale and be in charge of the results after they have been obtained. Perhaps the most objective procedure in selecting the subjects would be for the local institution to make out a list of all prisoners whose numbers end in 0; or 00, 20, 40, 60, 80; or 00, 50—depending upon the size of the institution. All prisoners could then be eliminated from this group who do not understand and read the English language, who have not been in the local institution during the past four months, and who are feeble-minded, psychotic, or acutely ill at the time. Groups of inmates selected in this way would be fairly representative of different institutions, and these results and scores will give the higher officials much concrete and significant information in regard to the attitudes and feelings of inmates in different institutions. It would probably not be possible to obtain so much valuable information on so many important prison problems and matters by the use of any other procedure.

18. *Special Scoring Methods.* After obtaining individual results

on the Personality Scale, it will be feasible to work out certain methods of scoring the individual results with reference to Attitude, Behavior Prediction, and Parole Prediction. It will be more satisfactory to work out these special scoring methods separately in different state penal systems, but the same method of scoring will be found suitable in several states if the penal systems of the several states are similar. The methods of scoring for Attitude and Behavior Prediction can be worked out in a few weeks, and the method of scoring for Parole Prediction can be worked out in a few months. A start can be made in working out all three scoring methods at the same time.

It is not possible to estimate accurately the reliability and validity of the three scoring methods, but inaccuracies in the grades of individual subjects will not necessarily affect the reliability or validity of these scoring methods. After the three scoring methods have been worked out, norms can be calculated, individual scores can be recorded on the Personality Scale form, and the individual results of each inmate can be kept in his jacket.

Since the present paper is somewhat detailed, we shall only briefly describe the three scoring methods in the following sections, but we shall be glad to give more detailed descriptions of these methods if interested persons will communicate by mail.

19. *An Attitude Score.* After obtaining the individual grades and results of inmates, the following procedure can be used in working out a method of scoring the individual grades with respect to an Attitude score.

a. Several experienced prison employees who are good judges of the everyday attitudes and feelings of inmates in prison situations may be asked to study the details of the Personality Scale. For each of the 317 items in the Scale, each judge indicates whether in his opinion each of the grades (+2, +1, 0, -1, and -2), the mark of X, or a blank shows in general a good or a poor attitude on the part of inmates. On item 23, "Being sent to the present institution," for example, a judge might think that a grade of +2 would indicate a good attitude and that a grade of -2 would indicate a poor attitude, etc.

b. The judgments of all of the judges are combined, and a scoring key is constructed on the basis of the combined judgments of the judges. In the future, a subject giving item 23 a grade of -2, for example, might be given an Attitude score of -1, etc. Several of the items will not be related to a good or a poor Attitude, and these items would

not figure in scoring the grades of individual inmates with respect to Attitude.

c. The general Attitude score of an individual inmate is obtained by adding all of his individual Attitude scores. The general Attitude score of an inmate might be +47, -19, etc.

The concept of inmates' Attitudes is widely used, but common judgments of inmates' Attitudes are often based on chance incidents of a limited nature. A good measure of an inmates' Attitude should take various aspects of his prison life into consideration. This end is well accomplished by the present Attitude score because the items of the Personality Scale, on which the Attitude score is based, refer to many everyday and important prison and penal matters. It should be possible to obtain a much more judicious and accurate measure of an inmates' Attitude by means of the present scoring method.

20. *A Behavior Prediction Score.* After obtaining the individual grades and results of inmates, the following procedure can be used in working out a method of scoring the individual grades with respect to a Behavior Prediction Score.

a. In each of two institutions, perhaps a penitentiary and a reformatory, select two groups of about 40 prisoners each who have been at the local institution at least six months, one group with very good behavior records, and the other group with very poor behavior records. Give the Personality Scale to the good behavior group and the poor behavior group under the same conditions.

b. Make up a contingency table for each item in the Personality Scale, with +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, X, and blank at the left of the seven rows, and good and poor at the top of the two columns. For each item, count the number of inmate subjects in each of the two groups who gave each of the grades, etc.

c. For each item and for each contingency table, determine whether or not there are any diagnostic differences between the results of the good behavior and poor behavior subjects. If the good behavior subjects frequently grade an item +1 and +2, and the poor behavior subjects frequently grade the same item -1 and -2, then this difference in the results of the two kinds of subjects will be the basis of scoring the items with respect to Behavior Prediction. The inmate being tested in the future may be given a Behavior Prediction score of +1 if he grades the

item plus, and a Behavior Prediction score of -1 if he grades the item minus, etc. There will be no difference in the results of the two kinds of subjects for some of the items in the Personality Scale, and these items will not figure in the Behavior Prediction score.

d. The general Behavior Prediction score of a prisoner is obtained by adding all of his individual Behavior Prediction scores. The general Behavior Prediction score of a prisoner might be -30 , $+25$, etc.

Various methods of attempting to predict the Behavior of inmates are in use at the present time, and it would be of much practical value if the accuracy of these predictions could be improved.

21. *A Parole Prediction Score.* The method which can be used in working out a Parole (conditional release, etc.) Prediction score is similar to the method of working out a Behavior Prediction score which has just been described in the preceding section.

a. The Personality Scale can be given to several hundred inmates who are eligible for Parole, conditional release, etc. All inmates who have sentences of five years or more should be included in the group, but the group should otherwise be as representative of the inmate population as possible. A record is kept of the name, number, and length of sentence of each inmate.

b. After a period of several months, the following information is obtained in regard to the group of inmates: (A) Which men have gone out on Parole (conditional release, etc.)? (B) How long since each man went out? (C) Of those men who have gone out, (a) Which men have been successful, and (b) Which men have been unsuccessful, that is, violated their Parole or committed some new offense? (D) For each man who was unsuccessful after how many days of Parole supervision was he unsuccessful? In working out a Parole Prediction score, consideration may be given only to those individuals who were under Parole supervision successfully for 72 days, or to those who violated their Parole or committed some new offense during the first 72 days of Parole supervision.

c. Make up a contingency table for each item in the Personality Scale, with $+2$, $+1$, 0 , -1 , -2 , X , and blank at the left of the seven rows, and successful and unsuccessful at the top of the two columns. For each item, count the number of successful and unsuccessful subjects who gave each of the grades, etc.

d. Determine whether or not there are any diagnostic differences

between the results of the successful and unsuccessful subjects, and the same procedure described in the preceding section can be used in constructing a Parole Prediction scoring key on the basis of these differences, etc.

Various methods are used in attempting to predict the behavior of prisoners after release, and any method which will materially increase the reliability of these predictions will be of much economic and social value.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The Personality Scale has been constructed with the idea of obtaining as much comparability as possible between the results of different penitentiaries, correctional institutions, and reformatories; and also between the results of different penal systems. The scores on the Personality Scale can be compared with any other data and measures which may be obtained in an integrated research program.

The special features of the Personality Scale which we would like to emphasize are (1) that the items and material included in the Personality Scale were obtained from prisoners, (2) they were standardized on prisoners, (3) they will later be administered to prisoners, (4) the grades which prisoners give the individual items of the Personality Scale are interesting and meaningful in themselves, and (5) much care and pains were taken at all stages of the present investigation.

I have been closely associated with a number of inmates in the various steps and stages of the present study, and I have learned certain things about prisoners from this daily and month-by-month association with them which it would have been difficult to learn in any other way. The help which various inmates have given during the past year and before has been quite extensive, and much of the clerical work has been meticulous and exacting. I wish to express my appreciation for the kind of assistance which has been given especially by my inmate clerks, because without their faithful assistance and friendly spirit the present study could not have been made.

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Table 1

Sample Results from Different Institutions

	A	B	C	D	E	Av.
1. Legalized prostitution.....	+ 2	0	+ 1	+ 3	0	+ 1
6. The federal bond and bail system.....	- 4	- 1	+ 2	+ 3	+ 2	0
7. State bond and bail systems.....	- 2	+ 1	+ 6	0	+ 2	+ 1
11. The trial procedure used in my current conviction.....	- 8	- 6	- 3	- 5	- 6	- 6
22. Living conditions in jails.....	-14	-12	-13	-12	-14	-13
27. The classification system.....	- 3	- 2	+ 6	+ 2	+ 3	+ 1
30. The present institution.....	- 3	+ 1	+ 5	+ 4	- 3	+ 1
35. My living quarters.....	+ 1	+11	+12	+ 7	+ 4	+ 7
42. The air in the building where I work.....	+ 2	+ 7	+ 9	+ 7	+ 8	+ 7
45. The system of extra privilege classification.....	0	+ 4	+10	+ 3	+ 2	+ 4
54. To be disciplined for violation of petty rules.....	- 9	- 8	- 3	- 9	-12	- 8
63. The rules of the present institution.....	- 6	- 6	+ 4	- 2	-11	- 4
68. The method and time required to obtain interviews.....	- 6	+ 1	- 4	- 3	-10	- 4
71. The mail system.....	- 4	+ 4	+ 3	+ 1	0	+ 1
82. The visiting privileges of the present institution.....	- 3	- 5	- 3	+ 1	- 2	- 2
92. The employees in general.....	+ 1	+ 1	+ 9	+ 2	- 3	+ 2
101. The attitude of employees towards inmates..	- 5	- 4	+ 2	- 4	- 8	- 4
103. The employees' treatment of inmates.....	- 2	- 1	+ 5	- 1	- 8	- 1
107. The medical treatment at the present institution.....	+ 1	+ 5	+ 5	+ 6	- 5	+ 2
119. The activities of the social service department.....	- 8	+ 1	+ 3	+ 1	- 1	- 1
123. The educational department at the present institution.....	+ 4	+ 8	+ 4	+ 7	+ 1	+ 5
130. Inmates in general.....	+ 3	+ 4	+ 5	+ 5	+ 5	+ 4
136. For inmates to be egotistical and conceited	-10	-11	-11	-10	-11	-11
143. The food at the present institution.....	- 2	+ 6	+ 6	+ 2	- 8	+ 1
150. The time allowed for eating.....	+ 2	+ 5	+ 6	- 1	- 9	+ 1
156. My present work assignment.....	+11	+11	+12	+11	+12	+11
157. My present work supervisor.....	+10	+ 9	+14	+ 9	+13	+11
175. The operation of the radio system.....	- 5	- 6	+ 2	- 3	- 4	- 3
189. The amount of physical exercise.....	+ 5	+ 3	- 1	+ 7	+ 5	+ 4
196. The beds.....	- 1	+ 9	+11	+ 6	+ 2	+ 5
214. To hear inmates using vulgar and obscene language.....	-12	-12	-14	-10	- 8	-11

Table 1 (continued)

	A	B	C	D	E	Av.
216. To shave every day.....	+ 7	+ 6	+ 8	+ 7	+ 5	+ 7
219. The clothes issued here.....	+ 1	+ 1	+ 4	+ 3	- 8	0
225. The commissary department.....	- 4	0	+ 5	+ 8	+ 2	+ 2
233. The library at the present institution.....	+ 9	+10	+13	+ 9	+ 7	+10
241. The conditional release law.....	-17	- 4	- 5	+ 3	- 3	- 5
253. The discharge clothes.....	-10	- 2	0	- 3	- 6	- 4
257. The federal probation system.....	- 6	- 1	0	- 1	- 2	- 2
258. State probation systems.....	- 4	- 3	+ 4	- 2	+ 1	- 1
271. To have a wife and family.....	+16	+14	+17	+12	+13	+14
277. To live near the center of activity in a city.....	- 1	0	- 1	- 1	0	- 1
285. To see some of my old associates.....	+ 8	+ 9	+10	+ 9	+ 9	+ 9
291. To be on the go all the time.....	- 3	0	- 3	- 3	- 3	- 2
295. To assert my rights under all circumstances.....	+ 5	+ 3	+ 7	+ 6	+ 7	+ 6
298. To fight when the situation calls for it.....	+ 8	+ 8	+ 9	+ 9	+ 9	+ 9
300. To make some easy money.....	+ 2	0	- 2	+ 5	+ 2	+ 1
307. Night life.....	+ 2	+ 4	+ 1	+ 8	+ 8	+ 5

TABLE II

PERSONALITY SCALE

By HULSEY CASON, Ph.D.

Medical Center for Federal Prisoners

Springfield, Missouri

- | | |
|---------|---------|
| 1. | 4. |
| 2. | 5. |
| 3. | 6. |

The statements on the following pages describe things and situations which many people like or dislike. These statements are numbered consecutively from 1 to 317, and each statement has a parenthesis () just to the left.

It is a question of whether you have liked or disliked, do like or dislike, and would like or dislike each of the 317 items. Consider each item carefully, and take it for exactly what it says. Use the following scale in grading each of the items:

- +2.....Like or would like *very much* (extreme grade)
- +1.....Like or would like *a definite amount*
- 0.....More or less indifferent
- 1.....Dislike or would dislike *a definite amount*
- 2.....Dislike or would dislike *very much* (extreme grade)
- X.....Could not be in the situation

If the item is "liked or would be liked a definite amount," write +1 in the parenthesis. Mark each item +2, +1, -1, 0, -1, -2, or X, and do not skip any item. Use the extreme grades of +2 and -2 *much less frequently* than the grades of +1 and -1.

If the extent to which you have liked or disliked an item has differed in different situations, give the item a single grade which will represent the average or most customary degree of liking or disliking. If the item is liked +1 half of the time and disliked -1 half of the time, give it a grade of 0, or the average of +1 and -1.

Grade each item deliberately, frankly, and accurately, and solely on the basis of your own feelings and attitudes.

Read the above directions a second time so that they will be clearly understood before you start.

INITIAL

Vice, Crime, and Corruption

1. () Legalized prostitution
2. () To drink alcoholic liquors
3. () To see an intoxicated man
4. () To see an intoxicated woman

Arrest and Legal Procedures Before Trial

5. () The methods used by law enforcement officers in securing evidence
6. () The federal bond and bail system
7. () State bond and bail systems
8. () For law enforcement officers to use paid informers
9. () For law enforcement officers to use unpaid informers

Court, Trial, and Sentence

10. () Court procedures in general
11. () The trial procedure used in my current conviction

- 12. () For a man's past record to be used in court
- 13. () Trial witnesses in general
- 14. () The procedures used in determining and passing sentences
- 15. () Indeterminate sentences
- 16. () Definite sentences
- 17. () Consecutive sentences
- 18. () Probation sentences
- 19. () Suspended sentences
- 20. () Sentences with a period of probation to follow

Jails Before and After Trial

- 21. () The administration of jails
- 22. () Living conditions in jails

GENERAL INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

Commitment, Admission, and Transfer

- 23. () Being sent to the present institution
- 24. () To be sent to a prison a long distance from home
- 25. () The methods used in transportation to prison
- 26. () To be transferred to another institution
- 27. () The classification system
- 28. () The restrictions during quarantine

Penal Institutions in General

- 29. () Federal penal institutions compared with state penal institutions
- 30. () The present institution
- 31. () To have inmate representation in prison

Buildings and Grounds

- 32. () The buildings of the present institution
- 33. () The cleanliness and sanitation of the present institution
- 34. () The grounds of the present institution

Living Quarters and Living Conditions

- 35. () My living quarters
- 36. () To decorate my living quarters
- 37. () To live in a single room
- 38. () To live in a parole-room or open dormitory
- 39. () Privacy in my living quarters
- 40. () The furnishings in my living quarters
- 41. () Noises in my living quarters

Atmospheric Conditions, Ventilation, and Sunshine

- 42. () The air in the building where I work
- 43. () The air in my living quarters
- 44. () The regulation of temperature in the buildings during the winter

Institutional Status

- 45. () The system of extra privilege classification
- 46. () To be on maximum custody
- 47. () To be on close custody
- 48. () To be on medium custody
- 49. () To be on minimum custody

Disciplinary Matters

- 50. () The multiple man disciplinary board or committee
- 51. () For the Associate Warden to handle disciplinary cases
- 52. () For a man's behavior record to be considered in disciplinary actions

- 53. () The hearings given by the disciplinary committee
- 54. () To be disciplined for violations of petty rules
- 55. () The taking of good-time for certain serious offenses
- 56. () For restricted diet to be used as a disciplinary measure
- 57. () For the withholding of mail to be used as a disciplinary measure
- 58. () For the withholding of visits to be used as a disciplinary measure
- 59. () When I lose my privileges, to lose them for a definite period of time
- 60. () When I lose my privileges, to lose them for an indefinite period of time

Legal Aid

- 61. () To obtain legal advice in prison from legally informed inmates

INSTITUTIONAL ROUTINE

- 62. () The regulations on who may send me money

Rules in General

- 63. () The rules of the present institution
- 64. () For rules to be changed frequently
- 65. () Minor rules

Interviews in General

- 66. () Interviews with officials
- 67. () To be questioned by subordinate employees about requests for interviews
- 68. () The method and time required to obtain interviews
- 69. () For interview requests with officials to be sealed
- 70. () To be asked personal questions during interviews

Mail and Correspondence

- 71. () The mail system
- 72. () The mail service
- 73. () My approved correspondence list
- 74. () To write more than two regular letters a week
- 75. () To receive more than seven regular letters a week
- 76. () The censorship of mail
- 77. () For my mail sometimes to be read by employees who are not permanently designated as censors
- 78. () For my mail sometimes to be read by persons other than employees
- 79. () To write letters to Washington officials
- 80. () For any of my letters to Washington officials to be referred back to the local institution
- 81. () To write special purpose letters

Visiting Privileges

- 82. () The visiting privileges of the present institution
- 83. () The rules on who may visit inmates
- 84. () To have more than one visit a month
- 85. () To have more than one hour each month for visits
- 86. () To display affection for my visitors
- 87. () For an employee to listen to the conversation while I am having a visit

The Count and Check-up

- 88. () The count and check-up

Inspections

- 89. () The weekly inspections

Record Office and Central File

- 90. () Some inmates having access to other inmates' records

THE EMPLOYEES

- 91. () The attitudes and methods of employees during routine shakedowns

Employees in General

- 92. () The employees in general
- 93. () For employees to be familiar with inmates
- 94. () For inmates to be familiar with employees
- 95. () The expression "wrong attitude"
- 96. () Prison officials in general
- 97. () For employees to break any of the rules
- 98. () For employees to use any profane language
- 99. () For employees to eat any of the inmates' food
- 100. () For employees to connive with inmates

Attitude towards Inmates

- 101. () The attitude of employees towards inmates
- 102. () For employees to have a friendly attitude towards inmates

Treatment of Inmates

- 103. () The employees' treatment of inmates
- 104. () For emphasis to be placed on rehabilitation rather than on punishment
- 105. () For inmates to be treated harshly when kindness fails

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

- 106. () To be used as a subject in a study or experiment

Medical Services

- 107. () The medical treatment at the present institution
- 108. () The doctors at the present institution
- 109. () To go on sick call
- 110. () Women nurses in prisons
- 111. () Inmate nurses
- 112. () The dental services at the present institution

Psychiatric Services

- 113. () The psychiatrists at the present institution
- 114. () For good-time to be withheld from inmates when they are placed on psychotic status
- 115. () The psychiatric treatment at the present institution

Psychological Services

- 116. () The use of psychological tests in prison
- 117. () To be given a psychological test
- 118. () The present Personality Scale

Social Service Department

- 119. () The activities of the social service department
- 120. () Interviews with members of the social service department
- 121. () For the social service department to send questionnaires about an inmate to his relatives
- 122. () For the social service department to send information about an inmate to his relatives

Educational Department and Activities

- 123. () The educational department at the present institution
- 124. () To attend school
- 125. () To take correspondence courses
- 126. () The inmate publication

Religion and Religious Services

- 127. () Religion in general
- 128. () To attend religious services
- 129. () Special music at religious services

INMATE ACTIVITIES

Inmates in General

- 130. () Inmates in general
- 131. () For well-behaved and poorly-behaved inmates to be mixed together
- 132. () For short-timers and long-timers to be mixed together
- 133. () To visit other inmates in the institution
- 134. () For inexperienced prisoners and experienced criminals to be confined together
- 135. () Inmates complaining and criticising
- 136. () For inmates to be egotistical and conceited
- 137. () For inmates to talk a great deal
- 138. () Short-timers talking about their time
- 139. () To hear inmates using profane language
- 140. () Aggressive inmates
- 141. () For inmates to be restricted on the word of a stool-pigeon
- 142. () For stool-pigeons to be kept separated from other inmates

Food and Eating

- 143. () The food at the present institution
- 144. () The food in city and county jails
- 145. () The preparation of the food
- 146. () For food to be wasted because of poor preparation
- 147. () The way the food is seasoned
- 148. () The rules and routine of the dining room
- 149. () The methods of serving food
- 150. () The time allowed for eating
- 151. () Inmates conniving food
- 152. () Special food privileges for special workers

Work and Work Assignments

- 153. () The procedures used in making work assignments
- 154. () A regular work assignment
- 155. () To be asked to do work to which I have not been assigned
- 156. () My present work assignment
- 157. () My present work supervisor
- 158. () To do a large amount of work
- 159. () To be allowed to work seven days a week
- 160. () To have a different work assignment
- 161. () To work in the kitchen
- 162. () To work in the dining room
- 163. () To work in the laundry
- 164. () To work as an orderly
- 165. () To work on the labor detail
- 166. () To do farm work
- 167. () To do clerical work
- 168. () To work in a prison industry

Recreation

- 169. () The recreational activities
- 170. () To have more recreation
- 171. () Radio music
- 172. () News broadcasts
- 173. () Radio plays
- 174. () Comedy radio programs
- 175. () The operation of the radio system
- 176. () To have ear-phones instead of loud speakers
- 177. () To go to moving picture shows at night rather than during the day

- 178. () Serious drama moving pictures
- 179. () Comedy moving pictures
- 180. () Musical comedy moving pictures
- 181. () Western moving pictures
- 182. () Comedy shorts
- 183. () News reels
- 184. () Propaganda moving pictures
- 185. () To have musical instruments
- 186. () Inmate band or orchestra
- 187. () To have more than two hours yard a day
- 188. () The size of the yard
- 189. () The amount of physical exercise
- 190. () Athletics
- 191. () To play baseball
- 192. () To box
- 193. () To be allowed to make and sell handicraft products
- 194. () To attend forums or discussion groups

PERSONAL MATTERS OF INMATES

Individual Personal Behavior

- 195. () My sleeping habits
- 196. () The beds
- 197. () Noises when I am trying to sleep
- 198. () To get up early in the morning
- 199. () To smoke
- 200. () The brand of smoking tobacco issued here
- 201. () To read non-fiction books
- 202. () To read prose fiction
- 203. () To read poetry
- 204. () To read love stories
- 205. () To read adventure stories
- 206. () To read detective stories
- 207. () To study

Sex

- 208. () For a married man to "cheat" on his wife
- 209. () Active, masculine homosexuals (wolves)
- 210. () Passive, feminine homosexuals (lambs, punks)
- 211. () The methods used by officials in classifying an inmate as a homosexual
- 212. () Mixing normal men and homosexuals together
- 213. () Conversation and discussion about sex
- 214. () To hear inmates using vulgar and obscene language

Grooming of the Body

- 215. () To take a bath at least once a day
- 216. () To shave every day

Clothes

- 217. () The location of the register numbers on my clothes
- 218. () The size of the register numbers on my clothes
- 219. () The clothes issued here
- 220. () To wear white clothes
- 221. () Inmates conniving for clothes
- 222. () Inmates destroying their clothes because they do not fit
- 223. () To have three complete changes of clothes a week
- 224. () To wear pressed clothes

Commissary and Personal Property

- 225. () The commissary department

- 226. () The variety of articles sold in the commissary
- 227. () The prices charged by the commissary
- 228. () For the commissary to be open five days a week
- 229. () To have a \$10.00 a month spending limit at the commissary
- 230. () The regulations on special purchases through the commissary
- 231. () The amount of personal property which I am allowed to have
- 232. () To pass or exchange commissary

Library

- 233. () The library at the present institution
- 234. () The number of books in the library
- 235. () The kinds of books in the library
- 236. () For the library to have more magazines
- 237. () For the library to have more newspapers
- 238. () To have more than two library days a week
- 239. () To draw more than four library books a week
- 240. () To keep certain library books longer than a week

DISCHARGE PROCEDURES AND LATER*Conditional Release*

- 241. () The conditional release law
- 242. () To be on conditional release

Parole

- 243. () To be granted parole
- 244. () To have some representation other than myself at parole hearings
- 245. () For parole violators to be considered for reparole
- 246. () The federal parole system
- 247. () State parole systems
- 248. () The considerations used in denying parole
- 249. () The consideration of a man's conduct record by the parole board
- 250. () For the parole board to take excessive sentences into consideration

Institutional Discharge Procedures

- 251. () The discharge procedures at the present institution
- 252. () The amount of money allowed on release
- 253. () The discharge clothes
- 254. () To return to my home town after release
- 255. () To be given help in securing employment before release

After Release from the Institution

- 256. () After release, to look up old acquaintances who may be engaged in questionable activities
- 257. () The federal probation system
- 258. () State probation systems
- 259. () For released men to report to the probation officer at periodic intervals
- 260. () The probation officer's investigation of men after they are released
- 261. () For men to be given aid by the probation officer until they secure employment
- 262. () For police officers to check up on men because they are ex-convicts
- 263. () The attitudes of people towards ex-convicts
- 264. () To be called an ex-convict
- 265. () The difficulty in securing employment after being released from prison
- 266. () For men to be returned to prison as parole or conditional release violators

MISCELLANEOUS

- 267. () My past life

Home, Family, and Relatives

- 268. () My relatives
- 269. () To be liked by my relatives
- 270. () To support several of my relatives if necessary
- 271. () To have a wife and family
- 272. () My home
- 273. () My father
- 274. () My mother

Human Behavior and Characteristics

- 275. () After leaving prison, to have one place of residence the rest of my life
- 276. () To live quietly in the country
- 277. () To live near the center of activity in a city
- 278. () For a person to keep the same job for many years
- 279. () To have a great deal of spare time
- 280. () To lead the life of a hobo
- 281. () To carry out all of the orders of my superiors
- 282. () To be with people most of the time
- 283. () To be a part of a close social group
- 284. () To have a large number of good friends
- 285. () To see some of my old associates
- 286. () Ambitious people
- 287. () Emotionally unstable people
- 288. () Drug addicts
- 289. () A sense of obligation
- 290. () For people to have a strong sense of honor
- 291. () To be on the go all the time
- 292. () To let my imagination have free play
- 293. () For people to have a feeling of guilt over wrong doing
- 294. () To engage in heated discussions or arguments
- 295. () To assert my rights under all circumstances
- 296. () To have responsibilities
- 297. () To tell people what I think of them
- 298. () To fight when the situation calls for it
- 299. () To get revenge
- 300. () To make some easy money
- 301. () Sympathy and pity
- 302. () Jealousy and envy
- 303. () Anger
- 304. () Hate
- 305. () Children playing hookey from school
- 306. () To play tricks on people
- 307. () Night life
- 308. () To wear civilian clothes which attract attention
- 309. () To carry a gun (rod)

Military Matters

- 310. () Military training in prison
- 311. () To be in military service

Social and Economic Institutions

- 312. () Politicians
- 313. () Capitalists
- 314. () Labor
- 315. () Disputes between capital and labor
- 316. () Radical views on politics
- 317. () Laws in general

THE DIARY OF A SELF SLASHER

P. LIONEL GOITEIN, M. D.

Woodbourne, N. Y.

INTRODUCTORY

Freud has shown that obsessionism is closely allied to suffering, and the subjection of self to torture and pain; scarification being a comparatively common occurrence, particularly in childhood and adolescence. The mode and variety of self-torture is seemingly limitless. Some patients punish themselves with tyranny of words, others with figures or musical phrases; some with tiresome tasks of petty-fogging detail, others with fast and melancholy. Again while some struggle with sisyphian task, others survive with constant apprehension of their own inadequacy. Indeed the modes of tormenting the soul are infinite, defying man's ingenuity. But the mental tortures of those condemned in their own despite, sooner or later find physical outcome in symptomatic punishment or functional distress, as though the tensions of the mind were more bearable as physical irritations, irks or pains. The entire sphere of organ injury, accident and sickness, as Dunbar reminded us, may be little more than a disguise for intolerable impasses in the life of the psyche, such impasses finding expression and solution only in bodily pain. The 'martyr to sickness' is as a rule enjoying his sickness, and that particular mode of distress that all the forces of masochistic gratification conspire to uphold, perpetuating the symptom-complex in one particular disease, till such time as saner councils prevail or the balance of psychic compensations is redressed. There is biblical sanction for the 'punishment motif' in human nature.

We can detect in those skin disturbances that are so largely functional, and in the dermatose and dermatitides that psychotherapy can alleviate, (Goldblatt & Gordon), and even in the excoriations and extravasations (e. g. the stigmata of hysteria, Charcot) that suggestion may cure, some element of an organic conversion from purely psychic causation. Again, scarification and mutilation are often the *voluntary* show of discord directed toward self (Vessin), while pruritis and icterus seemingly satisfy some "scratch reflex" of the psyche. The chronic skin manifestations bear witness to the earliest peripheralising of libido,

and the externalisation of dangerous aggressive currents once more away from the self (Wilson). The skin is thus the ideal medium of latent hostility. The keen anger of rage emergent in boils, the love of scratching for its own sake, the punishment of self in eczema, also the rash as the first flush of passion and the blanch of disdain, the acute eruption of acne and the more intensive trauma of tumor or gangrene (Krantz), even the parchment skin of dried-up feelings, all these bear witness to the peripheral protest, and in their several ways reveal the sado-erotism resident in the skin, with its psycho-somatic implication. The curse that thus affects the integument marks also the break of ethnic continuity and bodily integrity. *The skin serves as the final arbiter and buttress between man and his hostile environment*, internal as well as external.

The case we are about to discuss illustrates the masochistic satisfaction inherent in the act of slashing. Despite the good transference with him, there were no readily available associations and no dream content. Both were rigidly suppressed. We devised a special technique to deal with this. Certain clear indications of a rich phantasy life, were present, however, which through drawing and projective reconstruction were successfully tapped. All the evidences were of a tyrant super-ego, and a conative dominance that sought escape in somatic conversion on the skin surface. The transference relationship oscillated considerably during the first three months period of observation. It was the more readily established at the opening sessions in view of the fact that projection mechanisms, directed towards those in authority, were already in play. The patient also had persecutory ideas and pseudo delusions of destructive intent, emanating from outside, (both with veiled sexual reference). In this instance the passive expectant role on the part of the analyst, devoid of discipline, demand or disapproval, was rewarded by a spate of phantasy, also a plethora of complaints and attention-getting devices, but before any serious physical conversion and critical release of aggression had set in. There was little of suicidal content in his spontaneous phantasy, although dramatization colored its contents, and a deceptive peace reigned throughout.

CLINICAL SITUATION

He was 23 when first interviewed, in good health and no obvious distress. The opening of session was devoted to endless repetitive recital of grievances in a curious monotonous voice, relieved by a querulous sing song. He spoke of one man who had a dead set against him,

who could so easily 'take all the burden in the world' from him, by offering him a quieter job, for he was "driven crazy" by the ceaseless din. He had hyperacusis, disliked the noise, the ugly jokes and the low moral tone of those around him, "such torment as only the damned endure," he emphasized all these as being the cause of his periodic headaches. Ambivalency characterised his attitude to his pet aversion. He was he said, just, fair, intelligent and warmhearted, and (at the same time) a brutish heartless tormentor—"I'll kill that man some day" . . . "He has a dog's heart." At later interviews, he vowed: "I'll kill myself to make him suffer."

The productive portion of the session, however, was not in these abreactions defiant of all reason, and intolerant of all interpretation though they were, nor in the sporadic dreams he volunteered, (for he consistently repressed all imaginative content and understanding, thus early betraying his psychotic quality), but in the spontaneous drawings forthcoming without prompting or direction, four or five of which were usually very dramatically and rapidly completed in the second part of the hour. The gradual evolution of his vindictive intent could be observed in this way, without haste or hindrance, for his associations (or more correctly sententious opinions and philosophisings) were immediately noted.

It was evident that mood-swing, temper and libido were headed in a certain direction. A wide variety of topics was illustrated which narrowed down to some ten heads of classification (see later). The directional swing of these instinctual currents could be indicated in no more economical way for he covered a wide field in his drawings. For purposes of presentation we therefore plot a graph, a Mental Analytogram as we would name it, of his libido oscillations, and we append illustrative examples also completed phantasies. He ranged from Masochism to Introversion, from oral satiation to deepest sadism. The diary period ends some four months after its inception, with definite mental deterioration and episodes of acute anxiety and dejection.

INTERPRETATION OF BEHAVIOR

It will be argued to what extent this somewhat unusual case of self-mutilation by scarifying, will illustrate the play of *frustration-aggression* mechanics in the genesis of deprivation anxiety and oral depression, and the significance of both for masochistic artifact in the resolution of unconscious conflict, scarifying and sacrifice are closely allied. It will

show the marked degree of repression of unconscious content and unconscious tension (violence), mobilised for the preservation of integrity (intact imagos), whenever marked ambivalency exists. The patient is now 24 years of age with a well-developed psychosis, a psychopathic history, and a personality 'set' existing long before his present admission, who has repeatedly responded to incarceration by an acute 'prison psychosis' of self evident delusional content. Whereas the majority of adolescents with integrated egos and some sense of discipline respond to institutionalisation by acceptance or compromise, stupor or occasional angry outbursts, this individual from the first passively sabotaged the entire penal situation. He first used the mechanism of organic conversion (headache), next relied on dramatisation, and finally on external resources to alleviate his inner distress. He has been psychiatrically observed for over four months and despite physical and psychological therapy, the character depreciation has been rapid and as mentioned, a mixed psychosis is now apparent, manifesting in this instance with depression and paranoid delusion, loss of insight and character degradation, katatonia and stereotypy.

LIFE HISTORY

His maternal grandfather was a Frenchman who emigrated to the United States and married an American. His paternal grandfather was a German, married to an Englishman who came to live in the States; his own parents however decided to settle in Ontario. Here there were six children born to them, our patient being the only boy in a family of girls. The medical history is obscure. Among the siblings the eldest had 'brain tumor' and some resulting paralysis, one was lame from a paralysis, one died as an infant and one is sterile; one has 'heart disease' and ear abscess, and one is said to be suffering from dementia precox. From this it would appear that the genealogical background was not of the most promising.

His father was 39 at his birth. It was a difficult delivery with forceps. He was a delicate and fretful child; yet by one year he could walk and at 4 talked, but with an infant speech defect.

The social report emphasizes that this boy, according to his mother, was always tidy and neat in his person, he was of "industrious people always anxious to help." He was considered nervous but sensitive and 'easily upset as a child,' also one easily led. Another report (in 1929) said that he was still very childish, self-depreciatory but unusually at-

tentive and agreeable. It was found, at the hospital, when he was operated on for inguinal hernia, that he had an undescended testicle but that "the genitalia were otherwise large for his age." Four years earlier he had a tonsil operation. The only other point of medical interest was, that following a box on the ear, he became unconscious, frothed at the mouth and had convulsions. The question was raised, at the time, of a psychic equivalent, of epilepsy. Blood pressure of 90/60 and presence of epitrochlear glands was then reported.

Unmanageable at home and with improper guardianship, he was sent to Rome School in 1930 and to Industrial School whence he eloped. A warning note was sounded in 1934 as to possible self-injury occurring under conditions of imposed restraint. He had at this time I. Q. 64, performance M. A. of 11, (ordinary M. A. 9:8). That he was vascillating, unruly, resented orders, "was easily angered and unstable," was reported in 1935. At 13 was still unable to read, but "of fair vocabulary, comprehension and object perception." This preceded a year's observation in a mental hospital where he went for "depression with tendency to self mutilation." A "psychopathic personality with psychosis" was diagnosed but with insight returned by August 1936. In January 1938, age 18, he is again reported "threatening suicide and wringing his hands agitatedly," and was scarifying self in October of that year. An attack of megalomania preceded this with elaborate phantasies and some extravagancy, e. g., he ran from home, registered at a good hotel in a neighboring town and spent some \$20 in drinking and betting at a well known club, engaged in amateur boxing bouts, unlike his usual self. Following a series of arrests on petty charges while wandering around the country, some anxiety developed, he was dropped and reinstated on parole, but recommitted on a charge of "assault with intent to rob," this marking a repetition of his first offense (1935) which was one of holding up a *confectionary* store with a gun at night. Note the 'sweets' motif.

THE LIBIDO OSCILLATIONS

The Diary that he now reveals is a *diary of feelings* based on his phantasy life and, if not strictly in diary form, it does chronicle the day to day account of the internal happenings in a subject's mind with that candor and freedom from artifice that only the unconscious can employ. We have gone into this technique in a previous article. It details some of those conflicts, violences and compensations with which the mind was

preoccupied, punctuated by aggression toward the self in the slashing episodes, and culminating at the close in its collapse when deterioration and masochistic dominance was once more emphatic. This saw the re-emergence of suicidal intent as soon as the projected aggression proved unequal to the task.

Thus in summary this subject has a very long history of psychopathy, dated from a period of unruly childhood when his tantrums and obstinacy, his wanderings and destructive trends, first drew the attention of his parents. He became involved in an auto accident at age 4, and suffered some head injuries, the cause (it is claimed) of subsequent severe headaches. There emerge subsequently periods of tension which, with every attack, a fresh psychic conflict is usually ushered in. The feelings of helplessness in the presence of his aggression make him crave for physical anesthesia, when the hyperacusis and "terrible head pains" get the better of him. The possibility of suppressed epilepsy (psychic equivalent) from the same traumatic cause cannot be overlooked. His family history, we know, is positive for nerve instability. A fuller accounting of his psychic state is reserved for later.

It is significant that he used an unloaded gun on repeated occasions for purposes of hold ups, and admits to 12 or 15 such offences. There followed delusions of grandeur and oversight, e. g. that the people watched him and wanted to get into trouble. He has also projected out some of his destructive phantasies and he now sees 'torture and punishment' everywhere and craves it for himself. He believes the officials gloat over his suffering and are doing everything against him by way of refined cruelty.

He has also at present a vendetta against his chief for victimizing him, persecuting him, not "giving him a break," glorifying in his suffering and being diabolic at his expense. Yet, "I love the man, he is so very fair." The frequent scarifications by pin, glass and wire at least have meaning. They are intended, it seems, (a) to punish his enemies, (b) to relieve mental torture by *bearable* suffering and for release of tension (aggression), (c) to give satisfaction to his persecutors, (d) escape being watched over continuously; "there is no privacy here" and (e) punishment for self release.

PHANTASY SERIES

The series of drawings he detailed constellated as a whole around positive and negative components of libido, aspects of the major instinctual interests, that we classify as follows: Positive themes of:

Nutrition and oral dependency; e. g. drawings of the milk coming to the door (infant nurture), the satisfactions of ease (at breast) and sleep (in lap).

Cumulation and anal collecting; e. g. stacks of objects and rows of prints, snow scenes.

Erection and urethral security; e. g. posts of anchorage in water, maritime cranes, rowing over lake.

Animation and genital adequacy; e. g. athletic scenes, prowess in games, the competitive spirit (scores).

Cultivation and somatic striving, ascending hills, cultivating soil, etc.

On the Negativistic side we note the more hostile and disturbing themes of:

Desperation and somatic capitulation; scenes of precipitating of body, falling from sky-scrapers, and the fall of a leaf.

Collision and genital inadequacy; scenes of competing with rival, impact with a foreign body (car), etc.

Dejection and urethral insecurity; rising fires, threat of overwhelming force.

Operation and anal sadism; e. g. surgical interference, bombings, hurt to object (we interpret this as castration theme).

Aggression and oral mastery; drawings of overpowering by plane assault, conquest of foes, threat to the hero or martyr (self), indicating on occasion, the oral masochistic element.

It will be observed from the above sequence we adopt a developmental analysis from oral to somatic (latency) phases, each being viewed in its instinctual setting, positive or negative, according to content. Thence we plot the accompanying Mental Analytogram, the oscillation of libido on these manifest levels.

Many psychopathic types delight in fabricating. As an example of this patient's love of mystification and phantastication (mythomania), we had an instance of extraordinary behavior and excitement once after listening to the radio. He told his mother how he discovered that man had bored a hole in the back screen door and had broken in his house. When he (Frank) caught him and demanded what he wanted, he apol-

ogized that he was in the wrong house, but the "incident" sought to account for a knife our patient had in his possession, (used at the time to slash himself) which he said he picked up to protect himself. The symbolic import of the phantasy is to be noted in connection with "breaking-in."

He lived successfully for a time at his sister's, but when the wander spirit seized him again, he took up, by mistake(?), a suitcase in her possession, packed it with suits, an overcoat and watch and escaped precipitately. This is the subject of the present charge. He had never been particularly grateful for the hospitality extended him. The world was always unfriendly. This is the "breaking-out" motif.

At another time he confessed by writing to the superintendent that "in 1933, in the month of May, a man was beaten to death and I was there at the scene of the crime! My conscience is bothering me day and night, I cannot get any peace of mind; that is the reason I have confessed." He also expressed the fear that the police were watching him continually in order to get him into trouble. He is hero and martyr in all his phantasies. This instance is purely imaginary with him, but illustrates the mythomania of these cases (Flournoy). The origin of this confession in the oedipal situation should not be lost sight of in this connection.

At the present moment as mentioned much marked ambivalency extends to all his supervisors but a positive transference to his psychiatrist has been possible and the drawings continue. He is unaware of his psychic outbursts except that they are ushered in by unbearable head pains, and is *unaware* of the mutilation he commits at the time, except by the results. These pains, starting in and radiating from the supra-orbital area, go with congestion attacks and hyperacusis and sensitivity to all stimuli. They are possibly neurologic in part.

We now append the trend of his phantasy life.



A Case of Self-Mutilation

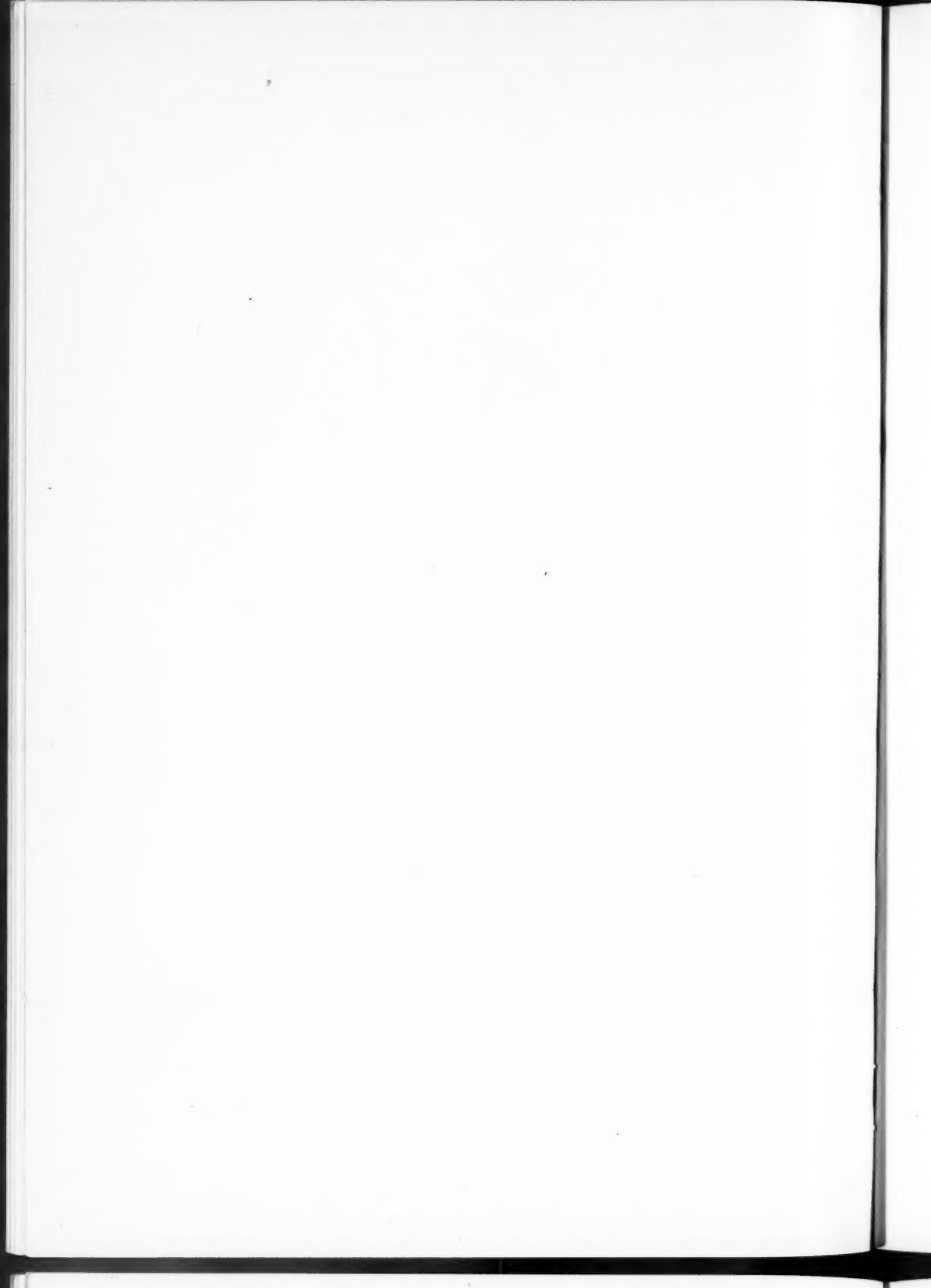
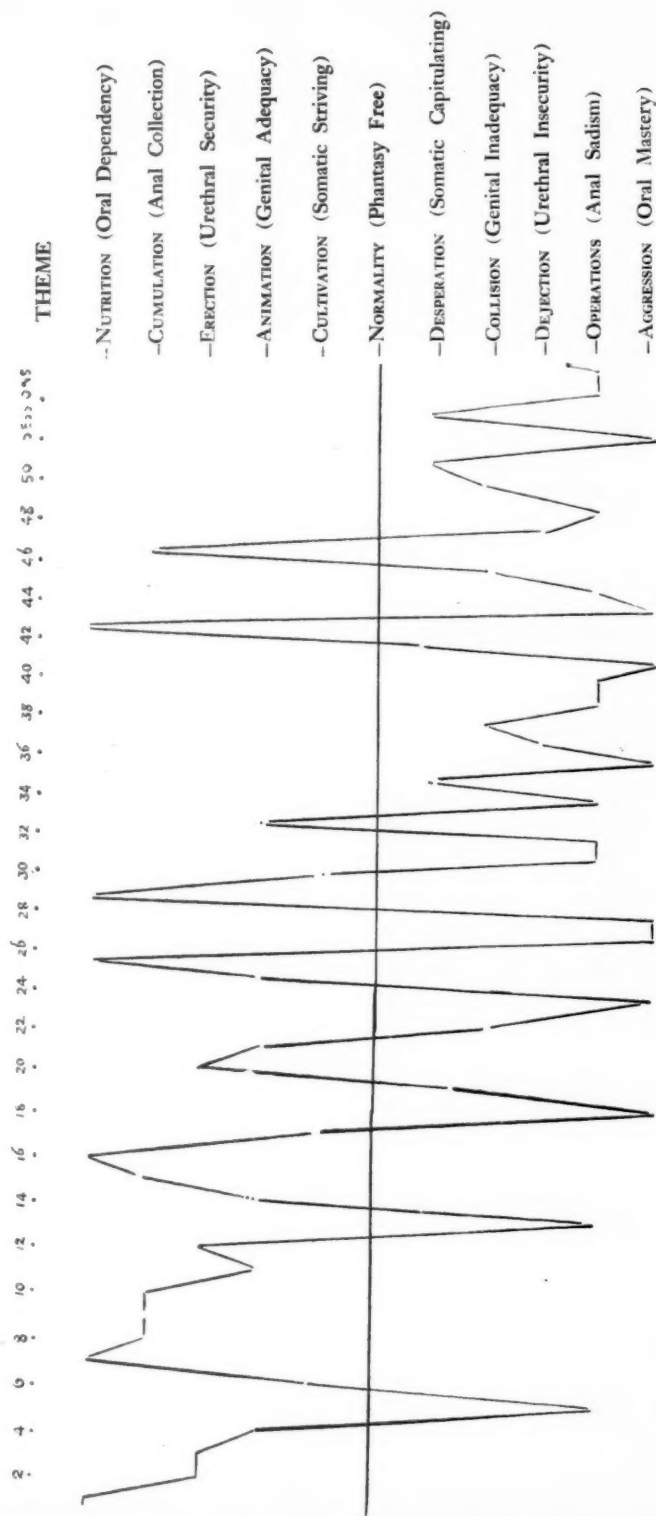
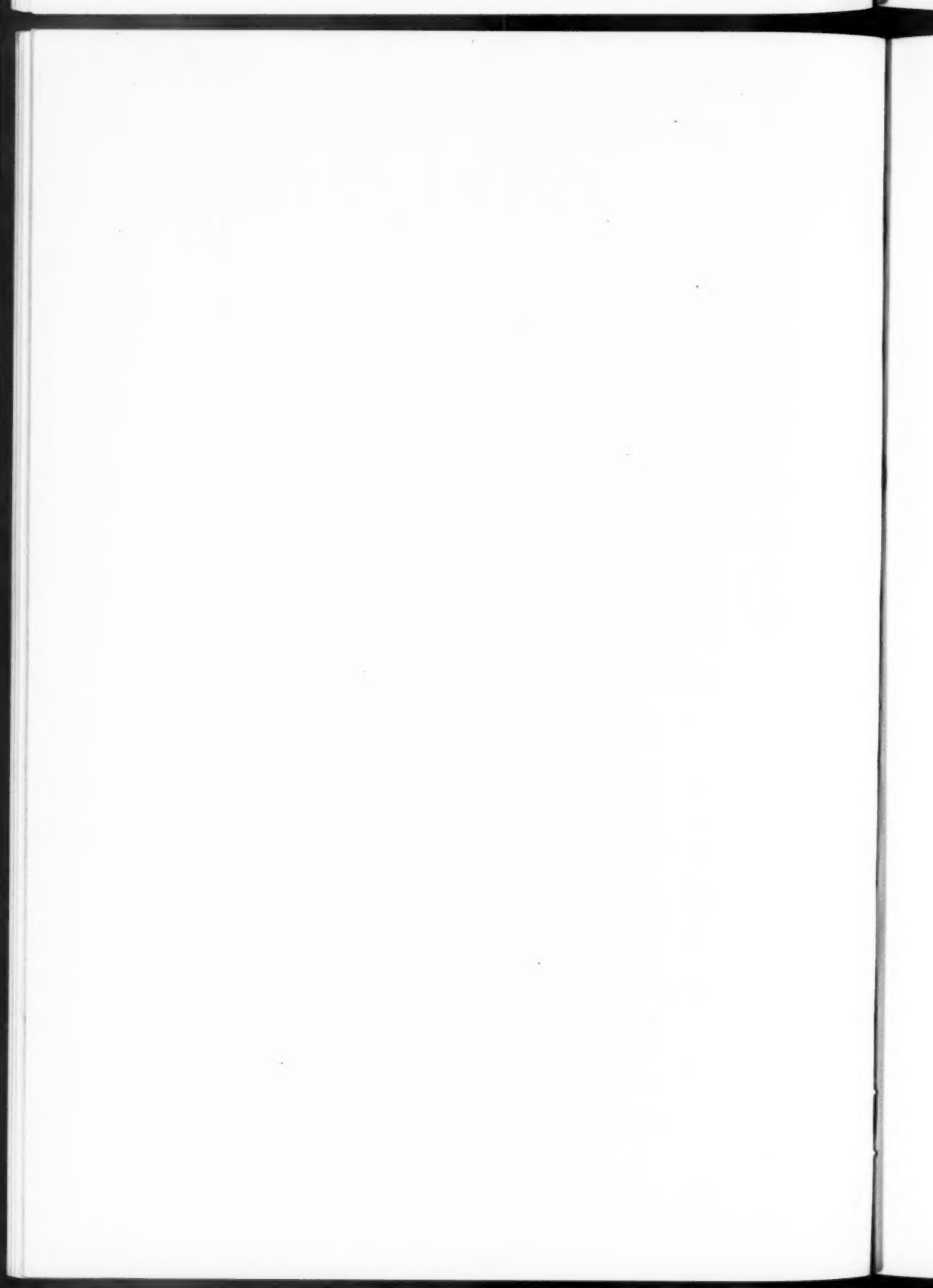


FIG. 1. MENTAL ANALYTOGRAM IN ANAL MASOCHISM



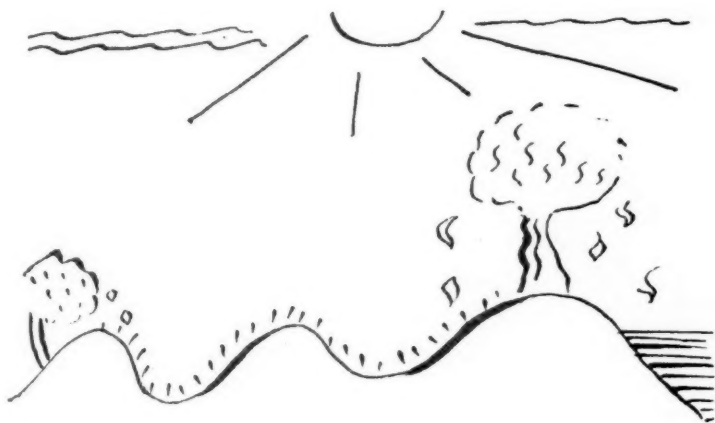


Five Episodes in the Life of John Citizen

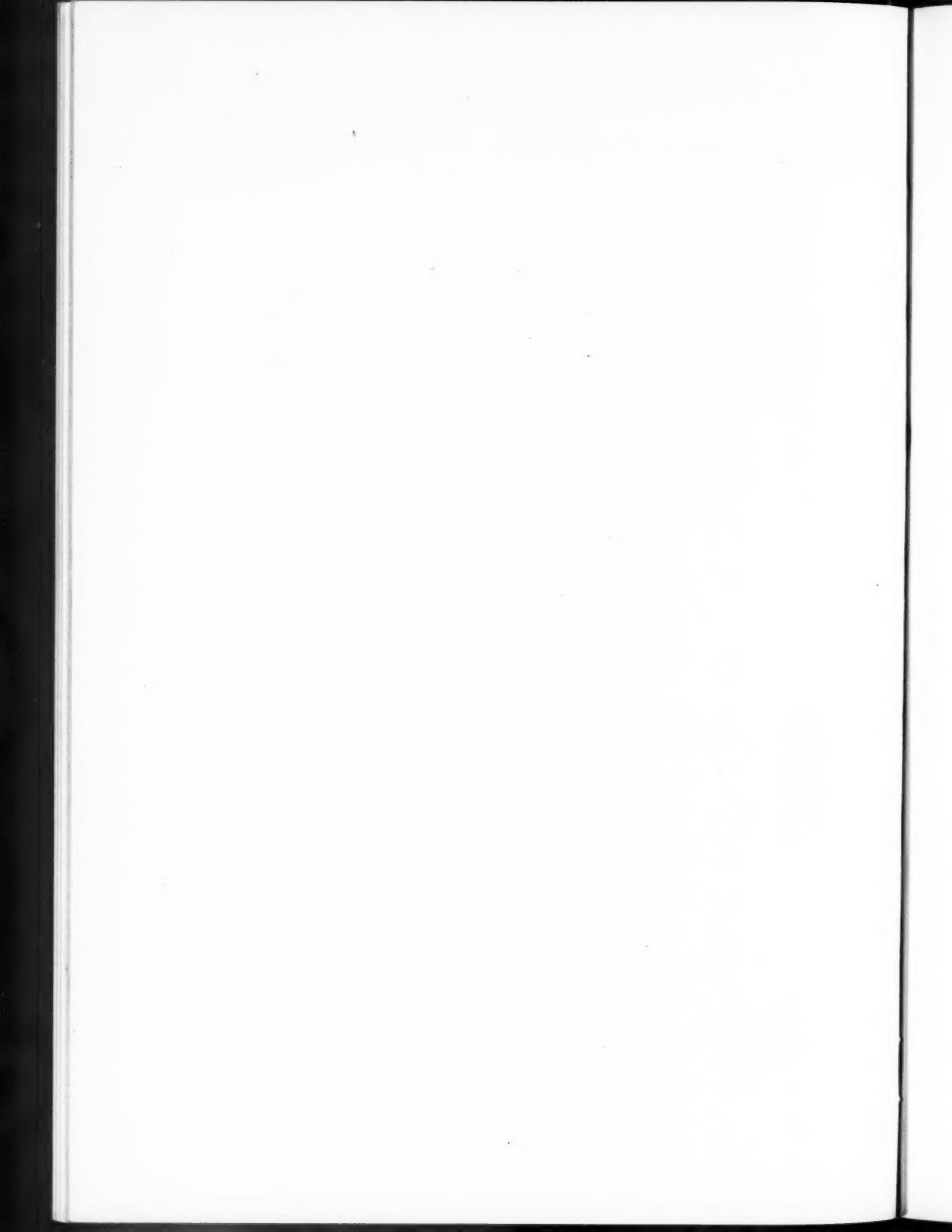
(Representative of the Critical Phases in a Series of 100 Sketches).



PEACEFUL PAST



PRECIPITATION

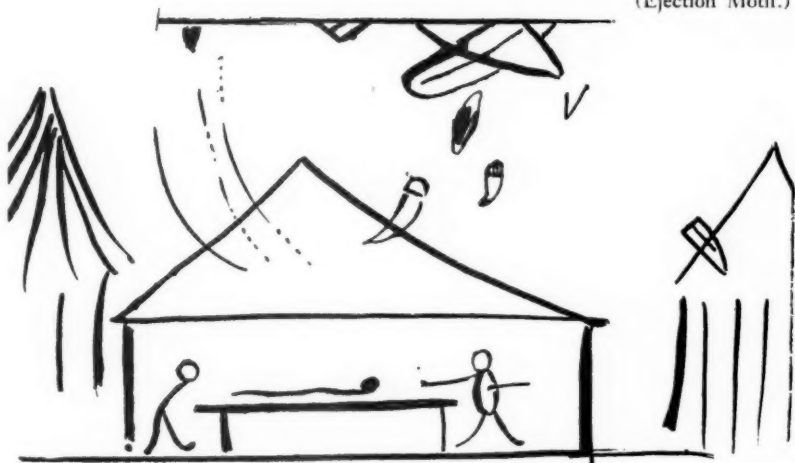




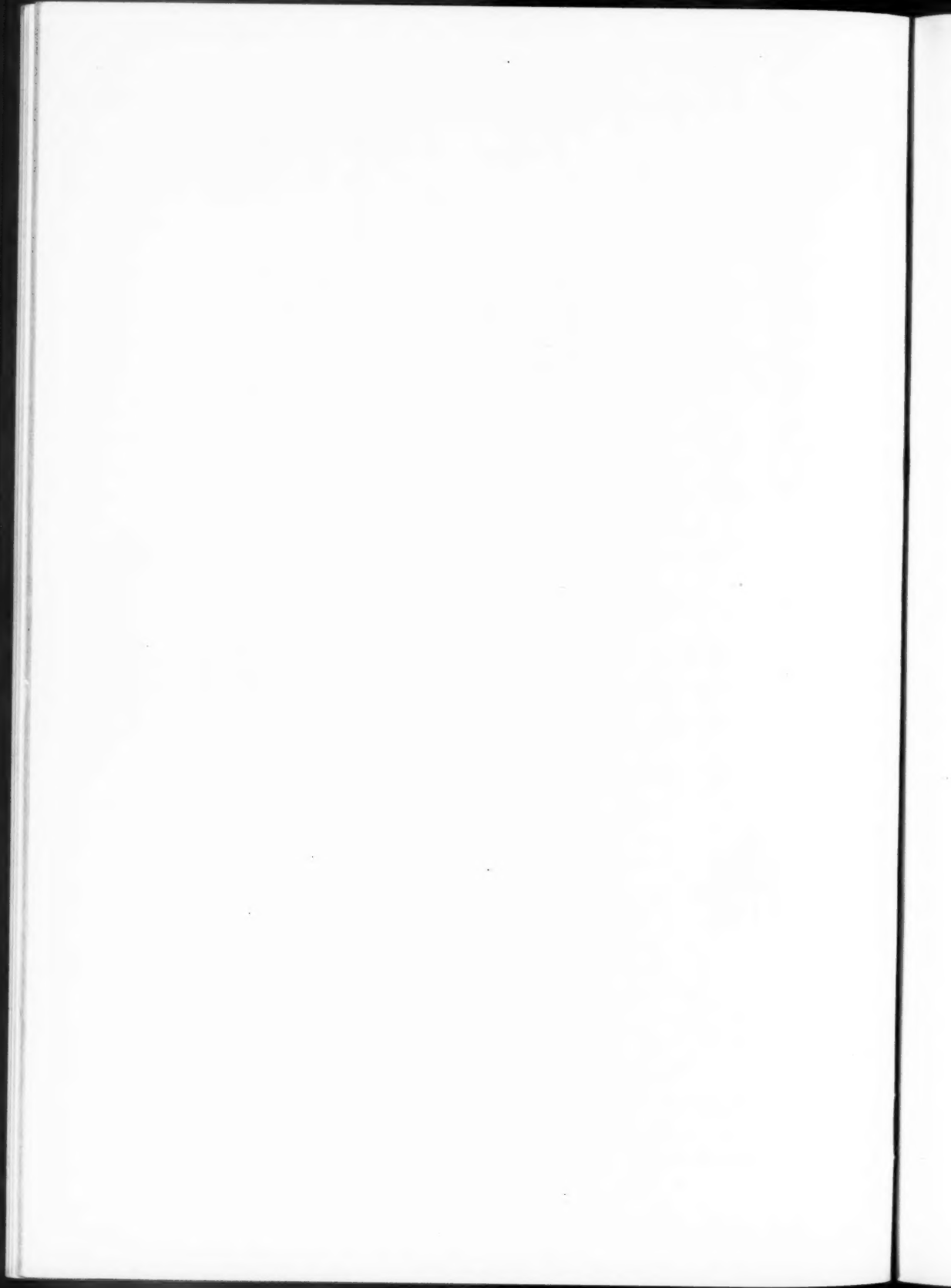
DELIVERING THE MILK
(Nurturance Motif)



HARVEST HOME
(Ejection Motif.)



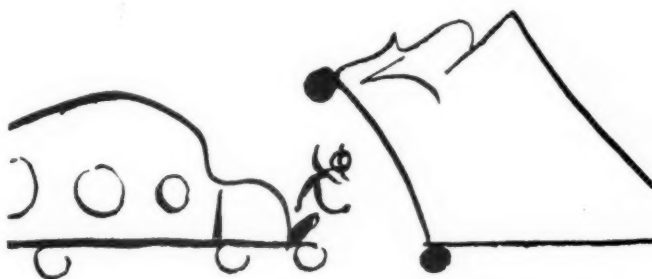
BOMBING THE OPERATION PLACE
(Talion Castration Motif.)





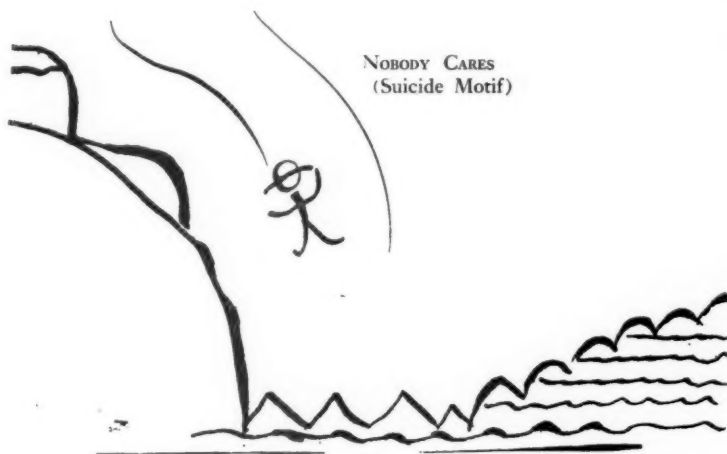
AFTER THE ACCIDENT

(Rescue Phantasy)

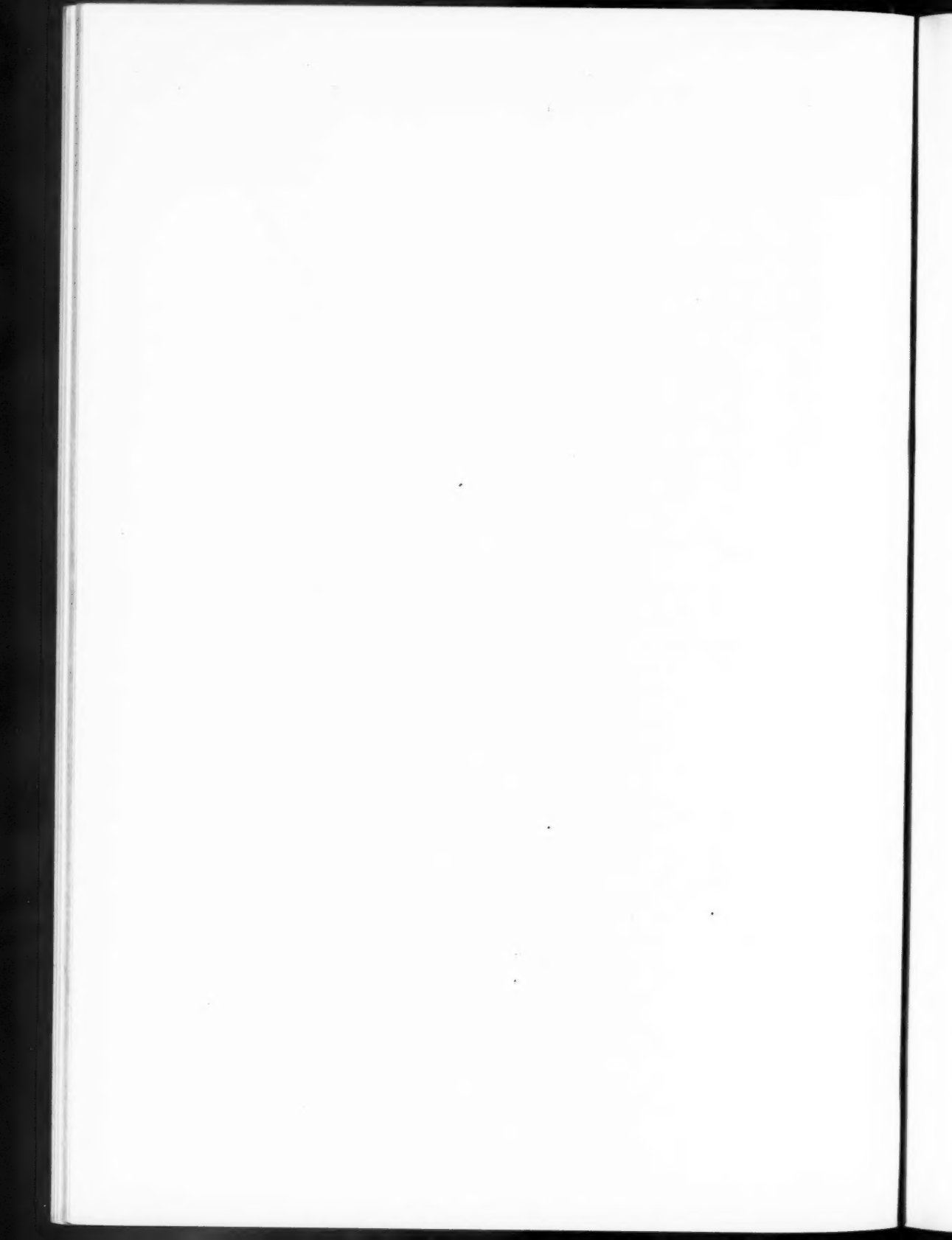


DRIVER CAUGHT BETWEEN

(Aggression Motif.)



NOBODY CARES
(Suicide Motif)



DISCUSSION

The rationale of psychodynamics operative in a masochistic skin condition is here outlined. A punitive super-ego is present compelling a recalcitrant ego to harness the sadistic id for its own destructive ends. The tyranny is countered first by castration desire directed towards the superego's masculine counterpart. This is ineffectual. Thence arises retaliation dread, relieved by incessant charges of aggression directed against phantasy surrogates of the ego; next against authoritarian figures in the environment and finally against the super-ego itself, conceived of as residing within. So long as the id forces can be placated in mental suffering and punishment, e. g. of headaches and bodily discomfort, there is a comparative compensation established, but the super-ego becomes evermore demanding, till no absolution is possible; and mounting guilt qualms finally seek redress in external mutilation (dermatitis artifacta) as the phantasied aggression grows. The demand become still more diabolic until united efforts of super-ego and id have to be stalemated by an effort of *ego sacrifice* in attempted suicide. Such is the apparent sequence in this individual instance, and the whole body of his phantasy material tends to support this. There is reason to suppose that the mechanism is equally applicable to other mutilation cases, and certain of the neuro-dermatoses.

We noted particularly in this series the absence of all humor, the swing from relative peaceful phantasies to bellicose intent; e. g. from scenes of isolation, (such as Nature becalmed and of silent valleys), through storm and tornado havoc, up to moments of military desolation, explosion and submergence, bombing and death! All this illustrated the ambivalency of feeling toward his objects and the stringency of super-ego demands. A typical compromise feature in one of his phantasies was a surgical operation on a man (castration), but the murderer does not go unpunished, for the powerful enemy bombs the hospital and he too is killed! The Power motif dominated all attempts at conversation and subsequently influenced the illustration of themes in his helpless aggressive phase. He saw all events as *bound up with himself*, and in some cosmic irresistible way that his own puny efforts could not resist. His tormenting aggressiveness was thus projected outwards in an effort to deal with it the more successfully (external slashing), but no punishing object adequate for his needs could be found.

His 'slashing remarks' in conversation and his assaults (on paper), temporarily served as safety valve for these aggression currents, but

gradually reality situations of masochistic gratification appeared as the only substitutes for punishment "great enough to be unbearable." The torture here served at once to placate his enemies and wring pity from his task master, to give (in reality terms) tolerable physical expression to intolerable mental tension, thereby to exact pity and disgust from his friends (assault). It was also a conversion of abreaction need, and one of sexual gratification in an equivalent act of release (ipsation), and finally served as talion punishment for masturbation and illicit castration desire (surgery phantasy). So the impending threat of super-ego found palliation in the last bloody sacrifice this side of suicide, an absolution free from all guilt a, release free from all terror and aggression. The anal sadistic quality of his intent was emphasized in the repetitive compulsive nature of these involuntary acts, in the tenor of the phantasies forthcoming, and in manifest independent evidence of obsessional features underneath his benign depression. In so far as the elements of oral sadism entered in, this was largely in the realm of cosmic destructive projects (extrajection) as his phantasies show, but a quality typical of infancy, also in expulsion phantasy in his pose of renunciation and finally in food refusal (oral negation), more typical of the psychotic. We believe the causes of obsessive conversion in self-mutilation thus go back to the oral cannibalistic levels of ego-superego accommodation.

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FIELD FORCES OF THE EGO AND THEIR MEASURE
BY PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUE

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INTRODUCTORY

This thesis postulates five ego components or ego currents as operative within the organism, whose stable interbalance and precise adjustments determine the healthy functioning and integration of the Personality as a whole. The nature and quality of these forces is admittedly problematic; they are an aspect probably of psychic libido, itself a functional process by which instinct (especially sex instinct) is represented to the mind. These forces can be studied only in the light of their clinical emergents, which serve as ready indicators of interplay of one with the other. A measure of each might determine its strength, and the role it plays in the mind's ultimate harmony or conflict. A serviceable clinical mode of evaluation needs first to be evolved. So far the history of clinical practise has provided little help.

We believe that the projective here advocated permits of some objective measure of these intrapsychic forces back of symptoms and causative of pathognomic behavior. They are evident in five components, all readily detectable in the psychiatric or analytic situation. For descriptive purposes, we conceive these libido currents as representative of (a) the impelling drives of instinct, (b) the forces of resistance to check them determined by training, (c) forces of the resultant compromise operative in the natural ego; also (d) the directive forces that draw a man to his goals, and finally (e) the auxiliary forces operating toward this end and mobilized to help the ego achieve this. Now the complex nature of these urgent tensions of libido makes for some deployment of its forces, as above postulated. We shall first define their usage.

By the first term (instinctual force) is meant the press or the motive power of men, the crude undifferentiated psychic *strength behind impulse*, inherent in the Freudian id, a component force that we would

here call *infra-ego*. The second is the inhibition, block of psychic *control* inherent in the forces of education, authority and discipline (i. e. the Freudian super ego) that we would here name *supra-ego*. The third force is the resultant of the balance between these two—the emerging spontaneous self (corresponding to the Jungian *animus*) that we would call the ego proper (ego verum) or *ipsi-ego*. The fourth force is the effective *auxiliary* force called into play as counterbalance or complement to the above animus (i.e. the Jungian *anima* figure) here called *contra-ego*. The fifth force is the ultimate attractive draw of the life goal, the *motive* force that as a sort of conductor leads the individual, the ego-ideal that we would call the *ultra-ego*. Summed up, the Persona is a compound of *infra*-, *supra*-, *ipsi*-, *contra*- and *ultra*-egos. We favor this self-consistent terminology.

From clinical experience we are all aware of the pathological results of abnormal strength in any of these forces, or from opposition between two or more thus couterpoised. The alliance of the ego with id or ego and super-ego, or the hostility of ego and id, etc. plays a significant part in all mental processes, in solving (or accentuating) a psychic conflict, or in reaching an ultimate compromise. The power of these individual currents has to be sensed or experienced in the actual analytic situation to be realized, although we have some indication of their strength and potency from those recurrent social, familial or personal crisis, familiar to us in every day life, which often gives them their first overt manifestation.

The effort is here made simply to give tangible measure and expression to these tendencies in ego emphasis, placing them beyond the limits of clinical speculation and subjective surmise, and to replace abstract impressions of forces at work, by a measured *scale of values*, though at present these are admittedly psychological and awaiting nomenclature and calibration.

FORCES OF PERSONALITY

Utilizing the well-recognized phenomenon of projection-identification, this battery of tests was devised on the assumption that the *unconscious is in accord with its objects*, and can be projected in behavior. Secondly, if "appealed to" on the levels of its developmental formations (such as super ego), it might yield valuable indications of inner stress and of its own strengths and weaknesses. An identificatory technique was therefore suggested, which from its very nature directly or indirect-

ly should "appeal to" and serve as stimulus to these abstract forces of *infra ego*, *ultra ego*, etc. We purposely chose a visual appeal as the readiest, by reason of the control we may have on size, proportion and spatial relation of stimulus figures, a set-up by which independent checks with other workers and with other tests were available; though perception of tone and tempo, etc. through different sensory channels might have been utilized equally well, in measuring up these internal psychic forces of the organism.

Such is the consistence of these Unconscious phenomena and their invariability (in the absence of treatment) that identical test results have been forthcoming at 3, 6 and 9 month intervals of re-testing, when the subject had completely forgotten his object choice. There is however no evidence that each is necessarily a measure of that Function of Personality attributed to it (*supra ego*, etc.) or to which the test is specifically addressed. This does not impugn its 'reliability.'

In this instance, by quite simple means, a direct stimulus to the unconscious has proved possible and (judged from the free associations forthcoming from analysed individuals separately tested), successfully reaches its objective. Playing a part in this set-up are the factors of rapidity and the naiveté of the subject; also his distraction and oblivion of the real purport of the test, and finally the internal meaning which each stage in the proceedings when using the Test battery, has for the subject. This can be retrieved subsequently only by depth exploration.

In such test series, each ego component is thus resolved back to its appropriate level, and its degree of functioning is capable of recognition without recourse to lengthy analysis. It cannot of course replace the latter but is used for a totally different purpose—that of measurement, i. e. the method is intended solely to determine the disposition of forces of the Personality and to define them and to establish "fields of force" then operative in the individual. The test makes no attempt to influence these, more properly belonging to the field of therapy.

So far then we attempt to measure the full strength of all these forces of ego (e. g. *id* and *super-ego*), in an individual case, by objective technique without recourse to symptomatic behavior or subjective assessment of the tensions at work. With regard to *super-ego*, for example, it is to be recognized that degrees of such tension may be evident clinically (in costiveness, height of blood pressure or seriousness of stammer, also in spasm of bronchioles, arterioles or vaginal introitus). These are in a sense a direct measure of *super-ego*. This is seen in autonomic tyranny or laxity of control, in so far as the sphincters provide evidence

of press or constraint, the resultant of these repressive forces. By the same token it was considered possible to measure (with the self's cooperation) other strains in the system, by utilizing like phenomena of identification. In other words a projective technique might measure in that sub-test the degree of *resistance* to instinctual urgencies experienced by the subject, and expressing the strangle-hold the super-ego had on him. In this connection, we decided on a simple series of *annular* designs (constriction in various shapes and degrees), that might have a quasi anatomic significance, whose sphincter degree and quality could be determined. The particular sphincteric orifice and zone most appealing to the subject was not specially enquired for. He was evaluated on degree of laxity or tension in his pattern of choice, each assumed to match similar tensions in himself. The known clinical evidence in our standardizing population substantiated this.

TESTS EMPLOYED

Five technical approaches, comparable in scope and method, are considered requisite for the measure of the forces hypothecated.

For infra-ego we use (I) The Symbolic Identification Test series. (more fully described in a separate article).⁽¹⁾ It is an imaginative test (in the manner of Rorschach) dependant on reaction to ambiguous figures, assessment being on associations forthcoming.

For Supra-ego, (II) The Annular Selectivity Test (described later), a spontaneous selection using ovoid designs (Sphincter Equivalents)⁽²⁾, shown in various stages of expansion or constriction.

For Ipsi-ego, (III) The Body Image Test (subject of a separate article) is a performance test, involving self's conception of the body and of its static size and relations, expressive of the inner "body image" and

(1) The Symbolic Identification Test (vide *Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. 30, 1944, in press.)

The test is classified according to mode of verbal response to visual stimuli found specific to certain types of Personality, e. g. sensation responses are given largely by hypomanics, emphatic responses by obsessives, intuitive by schizothymes, movement by hysteroids and abstract by paranoid personalities. It was standardized on such a population and proven valid for normals, whose dominant component was thus computed. The original article gives the method of scoring and assessment.

(2) The Annular Test (constraint) was standardized with the others of this battery on a selected population of 50 psychotic cases of known diagnosis. The critical card of each series was weighted accordingly. The qualitative nature of response in the normal subject for Tests I and III, and the "majority vote" for Tests II, IV and V determined the critical cards of the series.

the relation of the body to space. This measures the body form as the visible resultant of control forces (restriction or release) on the initial press and drive measured for Infra-ego.⁽³⁾

Contra-ego (IV) The Portrait Series (see illustration), a judgment test, relying on a best preference among pictorial representations of 'anima' figures, whose facial characteristics offer a measured scale (on Kretschmer lines). We believe we are testing a figure's "attractiveness" to self identification, thereby providing a scale of strengths as determined by independent correlation from the standardizing material.

For Ultra-ego (V) The Madonna Series, a judgment test based on personal preferences among some representations of ego-ideal figures (Virgin), scaled for "forcefulness of pictorial appeal," as indicated by our standardizing population. The choice is identificatory and appears to be related to Kretschmer facial criteria. (see illustrations).

Thus, Series I gives us a 5-point linear scale (A to E) of "drives" (of infra-ego) from "high" power drive to "ineffectual" drive. Series II gives a 5-point scale of "Resistances" of (Supra-ego) from a "laxity" of control to highly "restrictive" control. Next, Series III gives a 5-point scale of "Emergents" of (ipsi-ego) from "inflated" (ego values) to "immaterial" values. Series IV gives a 5-point scale of "auxiliaries" or effectors (of contra-ego) from "potent" appeal to "ethereal" appeal. Finally Series V gives a 5-point scale of "motivators" (of ultra-ego) from "vigorous" forces to "abstract" forces. (We use descriptive labels only.)

STANDARDIZATION OF TEST MATERIAL

The series as a whole was standardized for each of the above components on a population whose propensities in this direction were, in every case known, gauged from actual psychiatric contact and previous clinical observation. The balance of forces of id and super-ego, etc., could be determined among disease groups studied, since such ranged from manic through obsessional and precox to hysteric and paranoid. On the strength of this scale-standardization among 50 such cases, it was further tested on a normal population of 200, the strength of whose com-

(3) The Body Image Test is based on projective technique and is a qualitative measure. It involves the relationship of the body form to space. This is considered a specific function of the Personality, probably a working mental compromise between the forces of super-ego and id (though such theory is not pertinent to the usage of this test). The magnified self expression in the hypomanic personality, and the dissected in the hypochondroid, provide extremes on a linear scale of ego-expressiveness. It thus gives a quantitative measure of libido force, (vide *J. Nerv. and Ment. Dis.*, Vol. 97, 4, 400, 1943).

ponents were already roughly determined from clinical reactions. As a single example, Test II for degree of "control" was matched by previous clinical knowledge of the subject (as to his degree of laxity or rigidity) characterologically, also his ethical and moral control and general scruples, as evidenced in thought, behavior and even in his blood pressure. It gained further support (for Test V) in a knowledge and assessment of the subject's set goal values and life deals, and finally of his practical programme for living. In these ways the interview independently confirmed psychological insight from the tests.

The rating of a personality was finally expressed as AAAAA or ABAAA etc. through all the infinite variations in the interbalance of these ego forces. Few persons are thus entirely alike. Example: It may be pointed out that, on this set up, the *Hypomaniac* in the Asylum population tended to rate himself as AAAAA; that is to say highest in instinctual press and in laxity of self control, in emergent ego value (inflated) and in auxiliary needs (excessive) and finally in the goal ideal (low rate) he sets himself. His grading thus forms a basis for the rating of the series. The pure obsessive (among neurotics tested) follows a pattern BBBBB; with the paranoid lowest in the scale EEEEE (interpretation of code is self explanatory) and the schizothyme marking himself as in the midway position of CCCCC in the balance of his components tested.⁽⁴⁾ These subjects were all tested in the same State Hospital population.

Normal subjects (as tested among college men) follow an infinite variety of patterning but judged on ego ratings and more particularly on the infra-ego scale, a scaled reading (a to e) is given respectively by cycloid, repetoid, schizoid, hysteroid and paranoid subjects. (There is no mobid significance attaching to the designations used.) Another fact emerging is that:

(4) For those who would prefer a named measure or unity of force instead of "A to E" for infra-ego, etc., it is suggested the a to e values be replaced by I to V and the unit for:

- (A) infra-ego be called "milli-ranks (Rank)
- (B) supra-ego be called "micro-freuds" (Freud)
- (C) ipsi-ego be called "janets"
- (D) contra-ego be called "deci-jungs" (Jung)
- (E) ultra-ego be called "adlers"

Names are chosen out of compliment to recognized founders of the science of measured libido.

cycloid gives a high reading in infra-ego
repetoid gives a high reading in supra- ego
schizoid gives a high reading in ipsi-ego
hysteroid gives a high reading in contra-ego
paranoid gives a high reading in ultra-ego

Relation of infra- and supra-ego drives to these now is being determined in current research studies. A positive correlation has been established between group selection on individual tests, types of personality and dominant psychiatric streak. Thus each sub-test of a battery interlocks with the others, but its use among normal subjects permits complete latitude in any direction, for there is no special weighting or patterning. Approximation of final pattern to the standardizing population suggests a morbid tendency.

The degree of interbalance of such forces is a measure of personality harmony, and may indicate (as in a "gold curve" of paretics) where abnormal strengths or resistances may lie. The ratio between the components infra to ultra ego is not constant, and no formula has as yet been worked out entirely consistent for any diagnostic group. It suggests infinite personality varieties, in consonance with human conduct, though as we said, equivalence to the standardizing pattern suggests abnormality.

THE QUALITATIVE CHARACTER OF THE TESTS

Certain elements in the test cater for projection mechanism. It will be observed, e. g. in Test Scale I, that the ball motif runs through the series and its diminishing size may be the determining factor in securing "interest" and provoking responses, and this relative size may (by identification) give a ready measure of unconsciously projected id forces. In no instance did the subject consciously recognize its anatomic intent.

In Test II, the motif of a band of constriction parallels a like degree of pressure-tension sensed by the subject. It is evidently interpreted as that constraint present within the individual exercised by whatever zone or sphincter is most operative, and representing the degree of "outside pressure" brought to bear upon him.

Test III gives the relationship of body size to the paper (unlimited space) a body whose only delimiting restrictive element to its instinctual drives is that provided by social space, supra-ego forces. The design

volunteered by the subject is interpreted as giving indication of the compromise resulting from the two conflictual forces, of restraint and desire, and operating on infra and supra-ego levels.

Series IV and V are admittedly arbitrary. They presume to measure degree of additive forces ("strength of character") inherent in man's complementing libido aids and auxiliaries within his imaginative field, (on which his object choice is based); also the attraction of his highest ideal. Both are here expressed by classically acceptable representative figures, whose "forcefulness" of appeal has been determined by trial and error judgment of the population tested; many pictures were too ambiguous and had to be rejected. It will be observed that the series is roughly a scale of facial features in size ranging from Kretschmer's pyknic (dynamic) type down to his asthenic (and ascetic) type as manifest in art, and this may be the determining factor in a subject's personal selection.

It should be emphasized again that the original population of 50 subjects was composed of 4 hypomanics, 16 obsessives, 10 precox, 5 hysterics and 15 paranoiacs who were given the entire test battery. Rationale of our technique is based on the fact that:

(t) Instinctual drives are highly developed and relatively uncontrolled in Mania, and the *Symbolic Identification Test* response (sensational) showed this trend in 100%.

(b) Regulation of Conscience and rigidity of control is well developed in Obsessives, the Annular Selection Test revealed this (with its choice of circumscribed design) in 100%.

(c) Compromise between these tendencies is especially manifest in Dementia Precox, and the Body Image test showed this formation in 80% of cases, with a specific drawing pattern (*elevation*) therein determined.

(d) Auxiliary aid (need of love object or *Anima*) is well seen in Hysteria. It was significant that 60% chose the self same image as pothesised for the test.

(e) Ultra ego is a function of self's goals in all cases but the Paranoid is observed clinically to have this function particularly well developed. Selection of a *critical* card (type E, immaterial) was given by 75%.

The extreme simplicity of presentation and rationale of method

is offered as its chief justification. The importance of such estimate of the deeper forces at work in the personality, lies in the ability of the physician experimenter to control and *redistribute* them through treatment and by psychological understanding, if it is considered that any one of them may be the source of conflict and distress. The work of some weeks of diagnostic analysis can be determined and expressed in this way in a single session, but without recourse to therapy, if diagnosis is the only requirement.

APPLICATION IN ANALYTIC WORK

There are many clinical applications: the conflict of animus and anima forces (our *ipsi* and *contra* ego) may be the underlying factor in homosexuality; and weaknesses in *ultra-ego* systems may be the cause of impotence or may cause lack of ambition and inertia, a disorientation to life or complacency, drifting and a low moral sense. Again the combination of high *ipsi* and *ultra-ego* would favor loyalty high purpose and productive idealism. The interplay of *supra* and *ultra* ego needs to be worked out, as it is quite possible they complement each other (two aspects of super-ego) as the inciting and regulating aspects of psychopathic behavior, low fascistic or *authoritarian* figures. In these various linkages and alliances of forces, as between infra and supra and ipsi-egos, lies the whole gamut of clinical behavior, from characterological to neurotic and psychotic degree.

The ultimate sources of society's health and disease, its harmony and distress may perhaps be sought in these nicely interbalanced forces of the *ego* in the individual and in itself, acting like so many links in the *endocrine systems*, of which they may be symptomatic. And the strength of the chain is its weakest link.

SUMMARY

The main elements of an experimental Test battery are presented in a preview of work in progress, on an attempted measure of certain intangible forces of Personality, whose qualitative differences are indicated. Standard techniques, based on results from standardising populations, are the tentative outcome of the preliminary enquiry and

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. D. Shakow for access to the clinical material used in these standardizations and to Prof. Gordon Allport and Dr. Murray for some of the normal controls.

are epitomised in tabular form (Table I). Sample protocols are given and illustrations of tests in use. It is too early to determine the relative value and efficiency of the various portions of the material.

SAMPLE PROTOCOL A

Patrick S. . . No. 675, a married Irishman of 47, father of two children, himself third in a family of 7, was a foreman on a road construction gang, when he was arrested charged with sodomic assault on two young boys. We consider him Hysteroid in personality. He bears an excellent conduct record in the Institution and from the outside world. He seems to have high religious convictions and good moral standards; takes no alcohol and is considered by wife a good husband and "moderate in every way." Their home is described by workers as neat and very well furnished, and the neighborhood standing of the family is satisfactory. He has an irregular work record as labourer but worked on W.P.A. projects for a considerable while. The patient's early development followed a normal pattern, nothing eventful occurring in adolescence, and no previous arrest on maturity. That he is 'dull and sluggish, ignorant and emotionally shallow, and defective in common sense,' was the verdict of the committing officer. Physically a negative W. R. with B. P. 130/90; he was circumcised (as child) and now in excellent condition. No nervous manifestations. His final Personality reading was BCCEA.

He rated himself grade B on *Symbolic Identification Test* (type of response largely affective, minimal and personal) representative of comparatively high instinctual urgencies (agitation).

He rated grade C in *Annular Selectivity*—an open class of design suggesting ". . . lack of censorial rigidity or tyranny", no moral compunction and freedom from unnecessary disciplines of mind.

He rated himself grade C on *Body Image* (drawing test) giving an aloof elevated figure, an emergent Ego found in subjects of low social tension (e. g. schizoids).

He rated grade E in *Anima Selection* i. e. average forcefulness of auxiliary aids.

He rated himself A in *Madonna Series*: this means he is drawn to the ethereal undynamic end of scale in love objects, denoting a potent force of appeal of highest idealisms.

Independent psychiatric interview gave the impression of a Hysteroid personality in keeping with the above deployment of forces. He has an *integrated* schema, is *vacillating* in Mood, *reactive* in Constitution, *reflexive* in Character, *idealistic* in Temperament, and *audacious* in Trends. He is in no sense neurotic and his sexual aberration can be accounted for.

PROTOCOL B

Arthur R. . . No. 881 a colored man, single, R. C. of gawky, awkward build, was sentenced in 1937 for assaulting and robbing a drinking companion whilst under the influence of liquor. He was one of three men engaged in an exchange of blows and the act was particularly violent.

He reached 7th grade at school, was reared amid parental discord, with a doting mother and an over repressive disciplinarian father, from whom he permanently escaped age 14, and went to stay with an older woman, and finally lived on his own. There is some evidence that he took himself too seriously and was highly conscientious. He only succeeded in getting chance employment as painter at work jobs. According to reports he usually associated with disorderly types and he had one previous arrest for betting. His thieving propensities have manifested on several occasions but his record at the Institution is good. His Personality Balance on the tests employed gave a reading of B D C A C, where relatively high Instinctual urgency is met by severe (repressive) moral control; his low personality emergent requires a stronger adjuvant for its equilibration, and it responds to a relatively weak ego ideal.

Clinically he is a serious responsible type with slow reaction time, unimaginative, with some plan for living, is cooperative and responsive but with poor self control, a surly anal type, unambitious and given to acquisitive crime. He gave such associations as these to Test I: ". . . this is the magnified hands of a clock a streak of lightning, a gang, this represents a bat, etc. . ." with poverty of responses to the others (thus bringing out his obsessive quality).

Independent psychiatric interview determined the following assessments: that he was *reactive* in Constitution, *constrained* in Character, *urgent* of Temperament, *shallow* in Mood, and *hysteroid* in his Personality organisation. In emotionality he was of the *excitable*

class, in Instinct *autistic* partially compensated by *associativeness*. He is a feeling introvert. His traits are in the direction of *rigidity*, firmness conscientiousness. In habitus, his *leptosomatic* component predominates. I. Q. is 63, M.A. 9½ years.

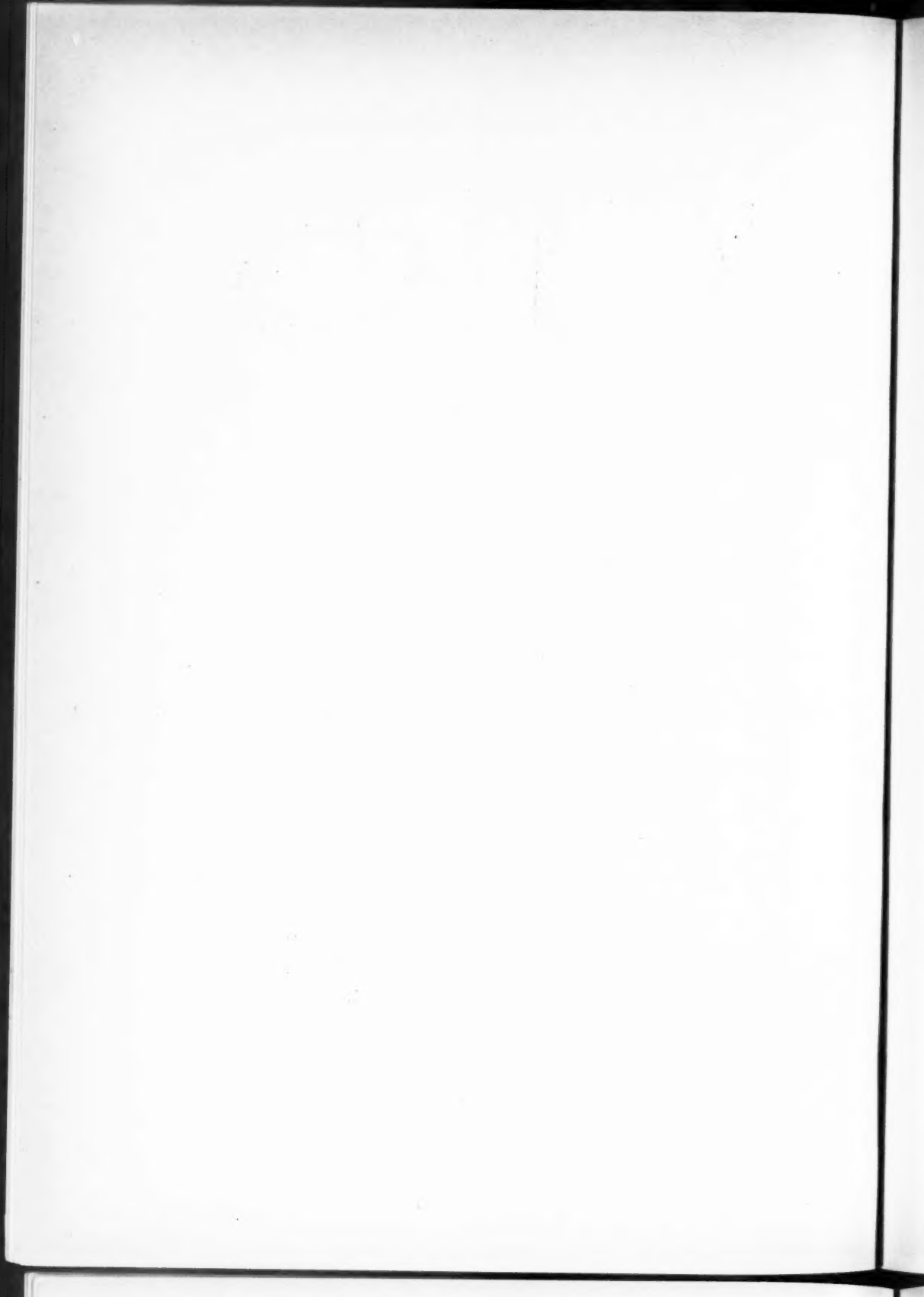
I interpret the test reading of B D C A C as a harmonized hysteroid personality, with controls ahead of his instinctual purposes.

FIGURE I

A Suggested Measure of Field Forces in the Chief
Mental Structures of Personality

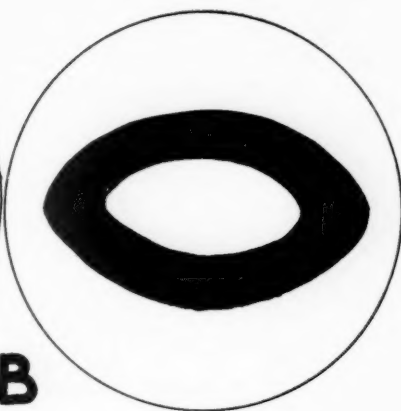
RADICLE	SYSTEM	UNIT	TEST	EQUIVALENT	FIELD-FORCE
Infra-ego	Activation	I-V milliranks	Symbol grading	id	press of forepleasure
Supra-ego	Regulation	I-V microfreuds	Annular grading	super-ego	press of foreboding
Ipsi-ego	Compromise	I-V janets	Body image grading	animus	press of foresight
Contra-ego	Effector	I-V decijungs	Anima image grading	alter-ego	press of foreaction
Ultra-ego	Motivation	I-V adlers	Ideal image grading	ego ideal	press of forethought



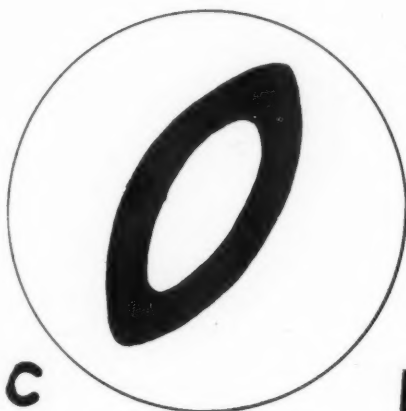




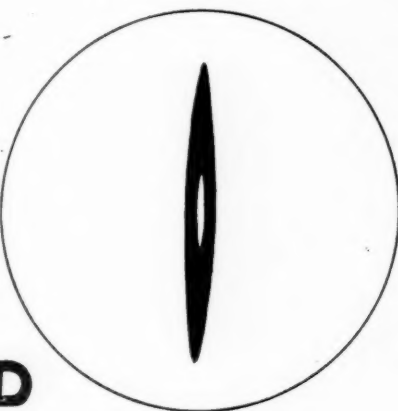
A



B



C



D

APERTURE

- A** LAX
- B** CIRCUMSCRIBED
- C** CONSTRAINED
- D** INFLEXIBLE
- E** GRIPPED

E



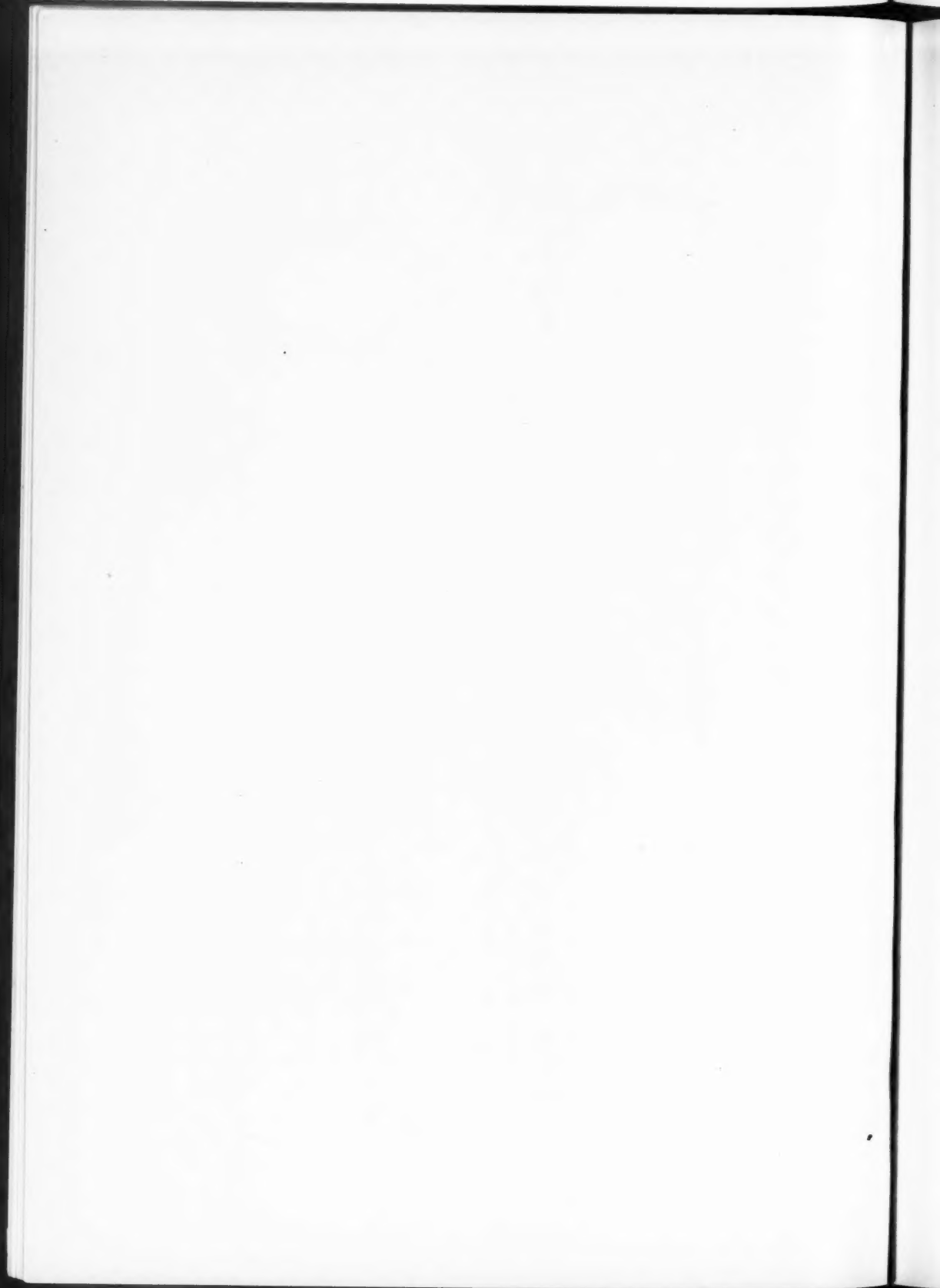


PLATE II ANIMA TEST SERIES (originals in color)



Plate II. Acknowledgment of source material, selected from following artists with names of their publishers:

Fragonard, *La Lettre*, Wildenstein Collection, Brau & Cie, Mulhouse, France.
 Schäflein, *Female Head*, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, (rep.), Coronet Magazine
 Bronzino, *Portrait of Constanza da Sommaia*, Detroit Institute of Arts, Jaffe, Vienna.
 Slendzinski, *Girl's Head*, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, Warsaw, Poland.
 Picasso, *Nu*, Braun & Cie, Mulhouse, France.

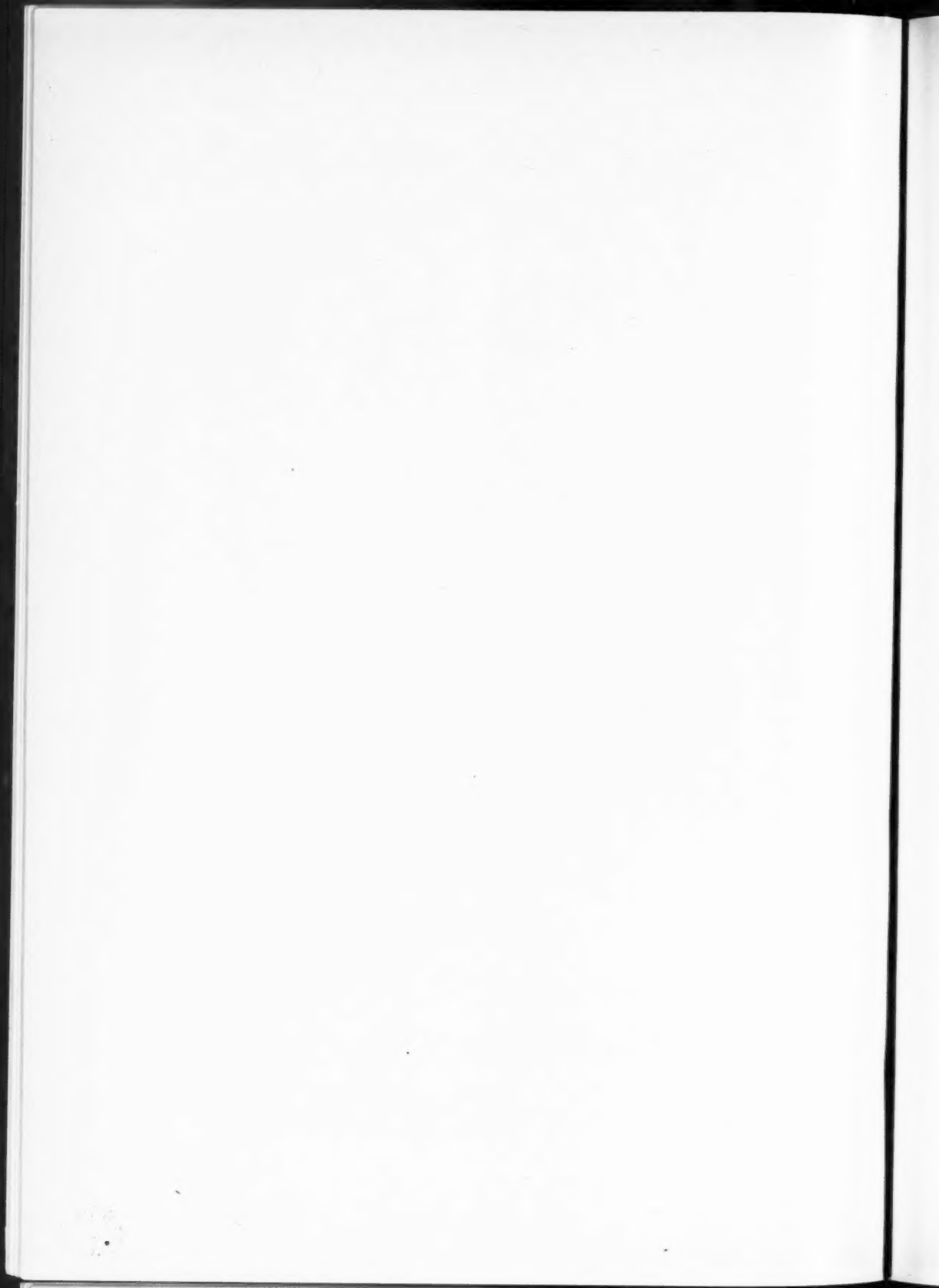


PLATE III. ULTRA-EGO TEST SERIES (originals in color)

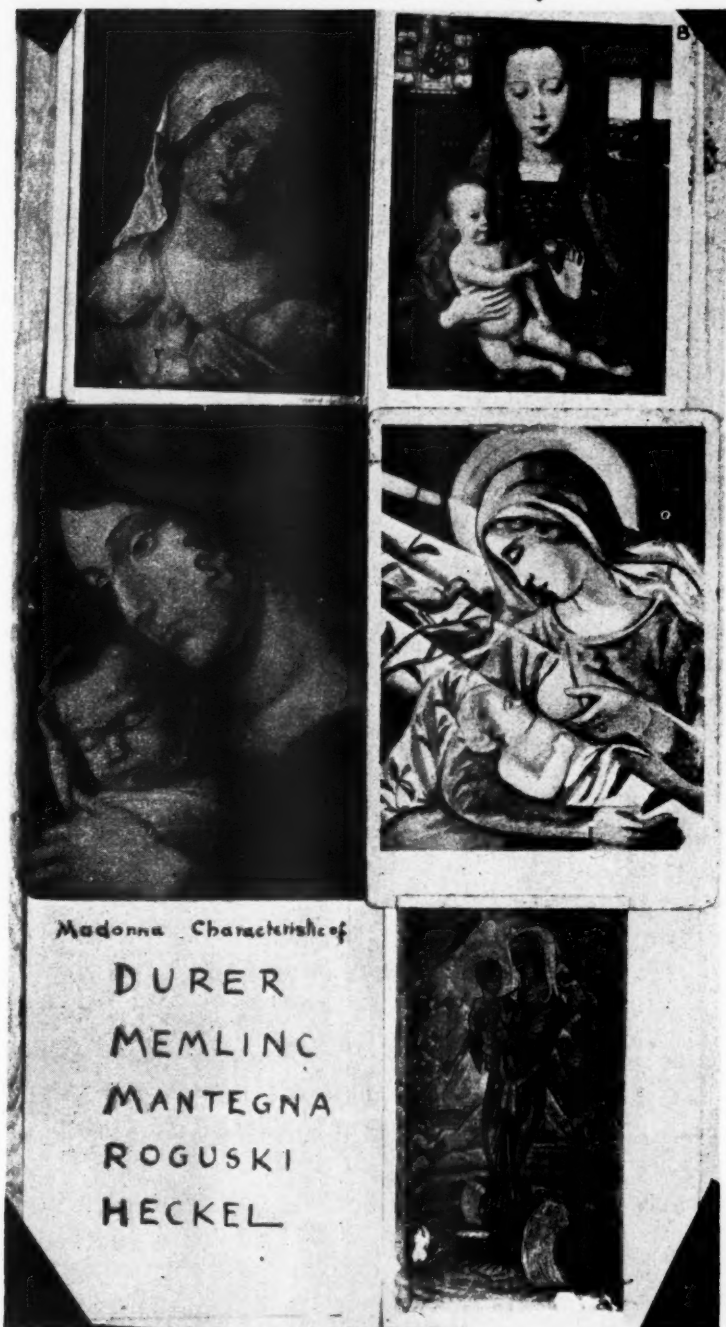


Plate III. Acknowledgment of source material, selected from following artists with names of their publishers:

Durer, *Madonna & Child*, National Museum, Wien, Jaffe, Vienna, Austria.
 Memlinc, *Virgin with Apple*, Hôpital de St. Jean, Braun & Cie, Mulhouse, Dornach
 Mantegna, *Italian Madonna*, W. Klein, Wilmersdorf, Berlin.
 Roguski, *Madonna & Child*, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, Warsaw, Poland.
 Heckel, *Madonna über dem Meer*, Nationsgalerie, Berlin.



JANUARY 1944

THE FUNCTION OF THE MENTAL HYGIENE CLINIC
DURING THE WAR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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and

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The war has caused a gradual but definite change in our national life, in our daily routine, and in our previous attitudes. However, there should be no change in our belief concerning the necessity of continuing the functions of the mental hygiene clinic and of retaining the gains which we have made. The mental hygiene clinic should not restrict its activities during the emergency. In view of the changing sets of values produced by the present conflict, there is every reason to believe that its program will have to be expanded, a new direction will have to be sought and additional services will have to be rendered to the community.

Not only should we strive to maintain our present activities, but it is necessary that the personnel of the mental hygiene clinic engage in planning and preparing for the role they will have to play throughout the emergency, in anticipating the difficulties which may occur and in preventing the many emotional upsets which may develop as a result of air raids or other dislocating influences in our national life. There was a recognized shortage of trained workers in the field of mental hygiene in time of peace. Because of the further depletion of their ranks as a result of the war, plans should be instituted for the training of additional personnel despite the obstacles encountered.

These considerations are particularly true with reference to the problems which will present themselves to the children of our country. The great difficulty confronting the clinic in the present crisis will be the prevention of the increase of juvenile delinquency. We must re-

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member that the value of protecting the child's physical well being during the war will be greatly diminished if he develops certain neurotic or delinquent traits which may plague him for the rest of his life. These unhealthy methods of adaptation will result more often indirectly from the effects of the war on the parents than from the direct influence of the emergency on the children. For instance, the experience of the English has been that children seemed to be harmed more by the alarmist discussion of air raids on the part of their parents or elders than by the air raids themselves.

In considering the delinquent in a war-torn world, we must realize that he is living in a world whose values, temporarily, have changed considerably. In peacetime he has lived in a culture where aggression is accompanied by guilt. In wartime this aggression is socially acceptable and the child feels the confusion resulting from the swinging pendulum of our mores. While he may not intellectually appreciate the perplexities of the adult world at war, what is more important, the child may sense the bewilderment of his elders who find their own values distorted and who themselves find the need of considerable effort to retain their belief in certain humanitarian values which they previously have striven to develop and maintain.

In any war there is a premium placed on primitive behavior. Some of the adult attitudes toward the war will be characterized sporadically at least, by the same type of behavior which we have previously indicated as pathognomonic of the group described as delinquents or psychopaths. In other words, since the behavior of the delinquent is characterized by its instinctive or emotional quality, since he cannot harness his instinctive strivings in the service of the higher thought processes and since he often lives in a world of his own controlled by his emotions or fears, he will be more easily influenced by these examples of unhealthy behavior on the part of his parents or other adults with whom he may come in contact.

It has been stated that in war the first casualty is truth. We are all exposed to the spreading of rumor and propaganda to which the delinquent is particularly liable because of his immaturity. In yielding to propaganda we see the effects of primitive and wishful thinking which is necessary to combat by stressing logical thought, well integrated behavior and social participation.

On the other hand, one of the criteria of maturity is the ability to utilize painful experiences which one may encounter for the production of certain constructive values. Therefore, there is need for adults to

clarify their own thinking. Psychiatrists and other workers in the field of mental hygiene should aid and stimulate all elements in the population toward the goal of more rational, matter-of-fact attitudes and less emotionally conditioned behavior toward participation in the war. The goals for which we are striving and the sacrifice necessary to obtain these goals should be stressed. For instance, one of the obvious lessons that each person can learn from the war is the realization that he is an essential part of a whole group which is engaged in a coordinated effort to maintain itself and its ideals with the help of every individual in it.

The psychiatrist and social worker must exercise their judgment with respect to the individual juvenile delinquent. The narcissistic exhibitionism of some of the delinquents strives to find its outlet in the war effort and, in certain instances, participation in some phase of it may provide a definite sublimation.

However, many of our former delinquents have tried to enlist or have appealed to the psychiatrist for aid so that their previous records will not prevent them from being drafted. The most frequent reasons given by them for this action are that they will be looked up to or respected, and will be doing something important. While the case of each of these delinquents must be decided on an individual basis, it has been found as a general rule that young psychopaths do not react well to the discipline of routine army life. On one occasion a young man who had been known to us as a juvenile pathological liar sought and almost obtained the position of air raid warden. The clinic psychiatrists and social workers advised against this since it was felt that such an appointment would be dangerous to civilian defense.

We must accept the fact under present circumstances that most of them are inadequate individuals who cannot get placed in positions in which they are called upon to accept too much responsibility particularly if this is thrust upon them too quickly. Again, since they have not learned self discipline or obedience to certain rules of the game, they cannot be placed in situations where disobedience may involve the lives of others. All the more reason therefore, for continued efforts at prevention and attempts at further rehabilitation of these young psychopaths so that some place in the defense effort can be found for them where they can be stimulated to adjust under favorable circumstances and can be made to feel that they are necessary. Further, there has been no definite plan established to take care of or rehabilitate psychopaths who have been discharged from the army because of their anti-social behavior.

With respect to prevention of increased delinquency we must re-examine our social and community programs and attempt to evaluate how much of our service to the children is productive of real results. On the other hand, when there is so much demand upon our time, we must be careful that we do not desert the essential parts of valuable services rendered by us in the past for the other hurried projects which may not be as useful but have been labeled, often incorrectly, wartime efforts. In addition to continuing the peace-time program of the mental hygiene clinic, we need to refrain from expensive economies such as curtailment of wholesome recreation and proper supervision of children. Whether they be underprivileged because their parents are unemployed and because they are products of previously broken homes, or whether their mothers are engaged in defense efforts and their fathers have left the home to serve in the armed forces, it would seem that adequate provision should be made to meet the emotional needs of all of these children.

In the event of the necessity of evacuation of children and the problems arising in connection with this, we must realize that even in peacetime it was difficult to find a sufficient number of foster homes and many of these homes were inadequate. Therefore, in planning ahead for this contingency, we must not neglect the aspect of the situation which deals with properly utilizing the foster homes we now have available. However, in addition we must stimulate individuals to provide an increased number of foster homes as a patriotic duty. Further, people contemplating to offer their services as foster parents should be prepared for their duties by a program of education which utilizes certain well established mental hygiene principles as its basis.

There are other social problems which will confront children during the emergency. For instance, the marked increase in wages will in many instances distort the sense of values of the entire family as well as that of the children particularly in those homes in which there has been very little money available prior to this war. This situation will be particularly acute in those families who previously have been on relief. One may look for spending orgies and loss of family balance as a result. These "easy-come, easy-go" attitudes are reflected in the behavior of the children. The Social Service Department of the clinic can aid greatly in maintaining the sense of balance of these families known to them or other agencies. Emphasis on thrift does have its community value.

Because of the shortage of available men there is also danger of the adolescents making too much money and spending their earnings un-

wisely. This new found independence may be thrust upon them too suddenly and may find them unprepared to accept it or deal wisely with it. In certain "boom" areas devoted to the war efforts which have sprung up throughout the country there is evidence that this unhealthy situation actually exists at the present time. Many boys refuse to return to high school or pay much heed to the advice of their parents because of lucrative wages received during the summer months in some of these defense projects. Others have become unmanageable in the home, school or community at large.

Increase in sexual promiscuity and in sexual deviations among juveniles is another problem which will have to be faced in this war as in other wars because of the "care-free, devil-may-care and hero-worship attitudes" which will become prevalent. Increase in alcoholism in juveniles as well as adults must also be combatted. An increase in brutality and in crimes of assault among juveniles must also be anticipated. We cannot permit any of these problems to remain unchallenged. We must try to minimize the effect that the unhealthy attitudes fostered by war will have on the growing generation.

We must strive to educate people to have a great deal more patience and tolerance toward our delinquents during and after the war. When after all these years, civilization can find no better way of settling its difficulties except by the method of Cain, we must now try to understand and to prevent, even though we cannot condone, the delinquent's destructive method of solving his problem.

The section of Gillespie's report which deals with the effect of the war on the emotional life of the children in England, contains valuable information which we can use in fashioning our program. It appears that the incidence of juvenile delinquency exceeded that of psychoneuroses in British children. Gillespie stressed the influence of family life, social factors and community education in preventing emotional disturbances in children during war time. The young people observed in his clinic were referred most often because of previous malintegration of the personality and familial difficulties which had exerted their influence prior to the war. The therapeutic principles and goals outlined by him were essentially the same as those recommended during peace.

According to Gillespie, juvenile delinquency in Britain increased because of disorganization of the child's life, curtailed school activities, restriction or lack of organized recreational activities and the production of dissatisfaction. Inability to meet new situations and subsequent rebellion against new surroundings was also to some extent responsible.

The absence of the father from the home, broken homes, the lack or failure of parental training or authority, insecurity due to separation from parents and the family, the subsequent desire for adventure and excitement contributed in great measure to the production of unmanageable children with destructive, pilfering or wandering tendencies. In addition, the unsuitability of some of the homes used to billet children was a factor. All the circumstances contributing to juvenile delinquency in peace time appeared to be present in somewhat exaggerated form during the war effort, according to Gillespie. The most important causes were the disruption of family life and the previous personality difficulties of the child.

Therefore, with respect to juvenile delinquency we may prevent its increase by attempting to eliminate the factors mentioned by Gillespie or by trying to lessen the effect that they have on the psychology of our children.

We must be alert to combat the influence of the unhealthy aspects of the psychology of war on children. We must counteract the emphasis placed on death and destruction, excessive self-preservation, misguided adventurous spirit and unhealthy identifications and must substitute healthy forms of outlet. We must instill an ideal of cooperation in the war efforts, and the idea of service to and sacrifice for the community. We must give children the feeling that they are wanted and needed. We must guide them along the lines of proper thinking and overcome their tendency to yield to primitive influences. We must teach them to sublimate their urges and attempt to stimulate creative effort.

A survey should be undertaken as to which children in the community are likely to prove unmanageable, resistant to authority, unhappy or given to stealing or anxiety, which children are isolated and which would not benefit by foster homes. The planned utilization of supervised play techniques, occupational therapy and healthy substitute parent relationships should be considered. The services of the mental hygiene clinic during an emergency situation should be placed at the disposal of the community. We must be prepared to meet the emotional needs of the children, to help them to abreact their hostility and to give them acceptable substitutes for their increased aggressiveness.

The necessity of a well planned coordinated program of mental hygiene to combat the destructive emotional attitudes caused by the war becomes increasingly apparent. Children whose parents are neurotic, poorly integrated or unprepared to meet the rigors which the conduct of

the war entails will more likely become emotionally upset by the crisis situations which will confront them. Youngsters with neurotic or delinquent tendencies who have previously been known to child guidance clinics because of personality difficulties, poor familial background or socio-economic factors which occur in their everyday peace time existence, will be more prone to become upset by their war experiences. It is a wise procedure for the mental hygiene clinic to continue to keep in contact with these children so that their recreations during an emergency can be observed. The first signs of increase in their asocial and anti-social conduct should be noted so that they can be properly segregated and treated. More important, however, is the proper preparation of these children and their parents or guardians for meeting an emergency if it occurs and the affording of relief from additional stresses and strains which may arise, dependent or independent of the war effort.

It is necessary further to prepare the poorly integrated adults for crisis situations and to observe the effects of their actions on the children. The need for an increased number of social workers and trained occupational therapists as well as psychiatrists, attached to the clinic to carry on this work, is therefore apparent. Those children whose problems arise from dissension in the family, divided discipline and a host of other unfavorable familial factors, must be observed even more frequently in their homes than previously.

SUMMARY

(1) The clinic must aid in the maintenance and bolstering of morale among all elements of population. Lectures should be given to the community groups with particular reference to maintaining individual and group morale, stimulating the spirit of community cooperation toward the goal of winning the war and stressing the effect of parental attitudes on children. "The Notes on Civilian Morale" prepared by the American Psychiatric Association and other psychiatric contributions may prove useful outlines to follow in discussing propaganda, rumors, fatigue and their destructive effects on the elan of the people. A printed set of recommendations prepared by the mental hygiene clinic for distribution in the community should prove of value.

(2) The clinic must strive to retain the gains made in the past and continue its mental hygiene efforts during the present emergency. As Dr. Kirkpatrick of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has

said, "Regardless of the war, the children in this era will not be children again."

(3) The clinic must strive to expand its sphere of influence and its program of community education during the war.

(4) The clinic must place its service at the disposal of the community as part of the program of civilian defense. Observation, treatment and planning for proper future allocation of children in the community who are known to possess unhealthy personality traits and are neurotic or delinquent, are all aspects of this program. The clinic should extend its efforts to include the prevention of emotional conflicts resulting from effects of the war on the civilian population and the children. Not only should we heed the advice of British psychiatrists but we must avoid complacency and an unhealthy optimism. We must realize that our war experiences may be somewhat different from those of the British. Some of the emotional experiences resulting from air raids may prove more harmful to our children and ourselves because we are not as homogenous or compact a group as are the English. Therefore, a planned study of what difficulties may arise as a result of emergency situations and the possible effects of air raids on the children, also is a necessary part of the program.

The clinic must be prepared to meet the challenge of emotional aftermaths which may result from these unpleasant experiences which children may encounter. Some of these psychological manifestations may be unrecognized at first not only because of their hidden nature or the delayed occurrence of symptoms but also because of lack of knowledge on the part of the parents and the relative scarcity of psychiatric facilities in the community as well as a lack of proper organization of these facilities. It is possible that numerous major or minor psychiatric casualties in England never found their way to the psychiatrist largely because the symptoms were concealed or their appearance delayed. Psychiatrists have had the same experience with war neuroses in the last world conflict and with traumatic neuroses and psychoses in civil life. It may not be possible to determine what effects the psychological traumata of air raids or other experiences may have had on the English children and young adults, until after the war is over.

(5) In addition to acting as a local community unit, the clinic should participate in a nationwide program so planned that mental hygiene service may be made available to the entire country during the

war. There is need of coordinate effort within the community and in the nation at large. The mental hygiene clinic should participate more actively in community life.

CONCLUSIONS

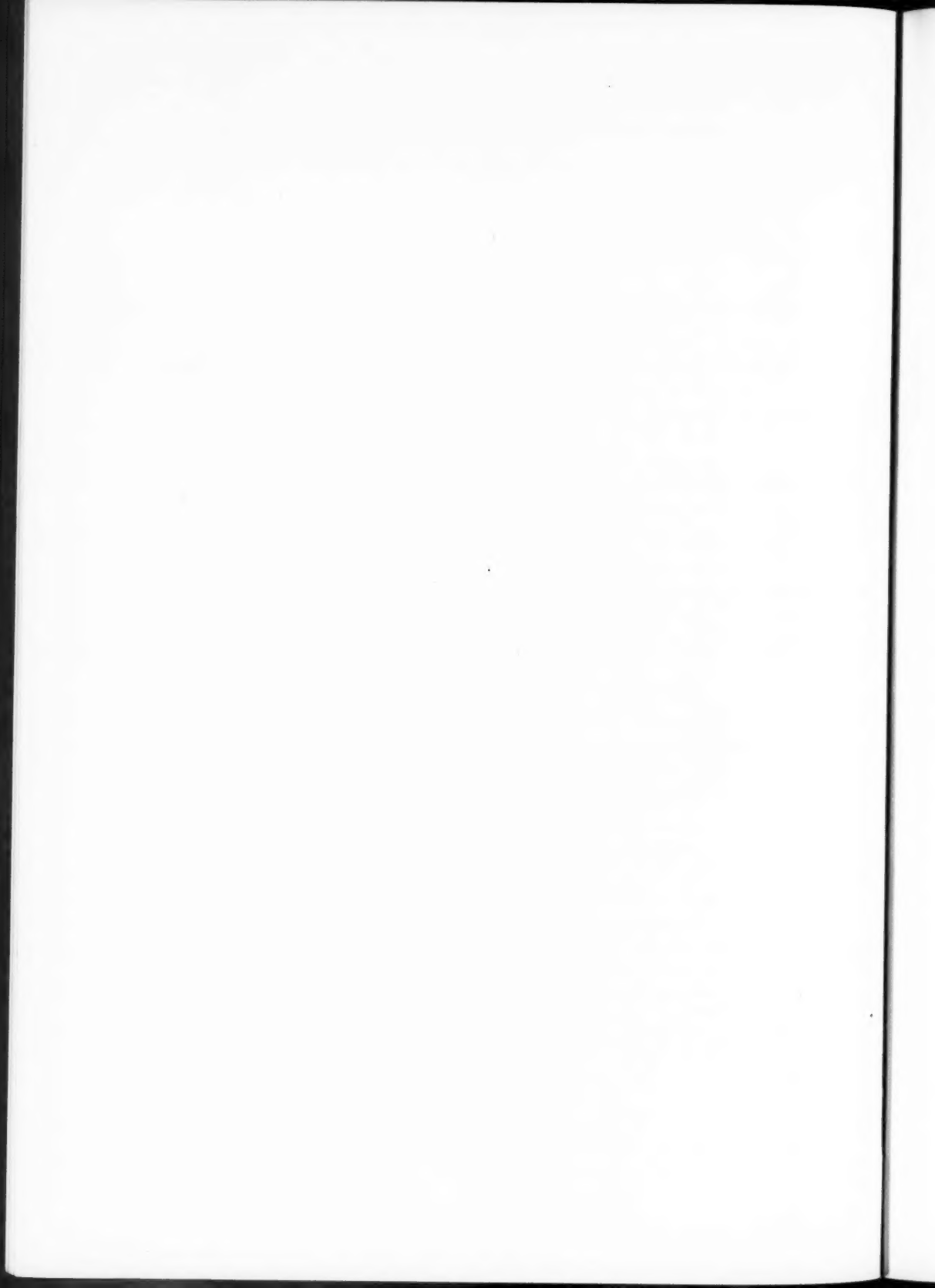
(A) Prior to crisis situations which may arise, the mental hygiene clinic should strive to become a center of information, advice and education in the community with respect to the prevention of the destructive effects which war experiences may have on the psychology of children.

(B) During and after emergency situations the clinic should seek to study, assist, and properly allocate those who have been exposed to unhealthy or harrowing experiences.

(C) We must look further into the future and plan for the post-war era. The clinic should aid in the continued care and rehabilitation of those children and young adults affected by the war. We must attempt by means of mental hygiene procedures to avoid the growth of the spirit of gangsterism not only during the war but after the war, so that widespread lawlessness which followed the last world conflict will not occur after this one.

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ALCOHOL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY IN A FAMILY CONSTELLATION*

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On June 23, 1939, a 60 year old white widowed female entered our Out Patient Department. She was brought in by a daughter, Mary, who stated as follows: "Since her husband (the father) died 18 months ago she's been drinking, drinking, and drinking and won't have anything to do with me until she hasn't a penny left. I can't afford to keep her at home because I am a patient of Dr. Seliger's myself, and I'm just getting over being an alcoholic.

"My mother had a job of taking care of a baby for two weeks. She had a day off and got drunk and came to me two days ago. I gave her 50c and told her to meet me at the Family Welfare. But she bought a half pint of gin and got drunk on it and came back to my house. Then my husband gave her \$10 and told her to meet me at the Welfare which she did. Mrs. Baldwin of the Welfare then called HPPC and made this appointment. They won't make any disposition of the case until they hear from Dr. Seliger. They are willing to give her relief. She is destitute now. She stayed at the Salvation Army last night.

"Since her husband died she has gone through \$7000 in liquor; her furniture is gone; she has her fur coat and jewelry in hock. Before he died she had been drinking hard for at least 10 years but she never had much ready cash. Before that time she drank, too, but not what I'd call pathological drinker: it's my idea that when she didn't have so many beaux anymore she began to drink heavily. Since her husband died 18 months ago the patient and my brother drank very heavily on the money he left until my brother died June, 1938. My mother then continued drinking until the insurance from my brother was exhausted.

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"In June, 1938, she was committed to Sheppard Pratt, but was kept only three weeks. After discharge she went on a tear for 8 days and has been drinking heavily since. She always says she wants to drink herself to death, but I don't think she wants to die because she always comes to me when things get tough.

"After leaving Sheppard Pratt she picked up a man and lived with him for several months as man and wife. They still see each other.

"When my father and brother were living she hit them with bottles when she was drunk. She has been very angry at me and my husband and has gone around saying I was in the insane asylum four times, that I was immoral. She never eats when she is drinking. She had alcoholic neuritis at Sheppard Pratt but hasn't complained of it since then."

The following background history was obtained at the first interview-conference examination, both from the patient and her daughter.

This 60 year old patient was the third of five children and had lived in Baltimore for 30 years. She was anemic as a child, considered to be nervous, and evidently had hostility to her parents. Her father was a Presbyterian minister (who drank daily) and her mother an abstainer, who was very much interested in church work, to the point of neglecting the children. At the time of our examination one brother, a West Point graduate, who had risen to the rank of Major in the Army, had been retired due to alcoholism, and was a government clerk going on periodic sprees lasting 7-10 days.

Patient attended Friends School in Wilmington, Delaware. She did not complete High School, but quit to go to work and because she was doing poorly in school. She got a job as a telephone operator, a position her parents felt a disgrace. After a few years she quit this to marry, at the age of 23, a man in the early twenties, who was an alcoholic and "ugly and selfish" when drunk. The husband lost his legs in a train accident and had two artificial ones. The marital life was disturbed or unhappy and the patient drank a great deal and developed interest and took part in extra-marital relationships. There were two children of this marriage: a son who died in June, 1938 at the age of 32, as the result of chronic alcoholism; and a daughter, then 35, who also developed chronic alcoholism and came to me in October, 1938, for help. Her life, in part, will be discussed later.

The patient (age 60) had been in good health except for a pan hysterectomy 15 years before our examination, and the neuritis in 1938.

In attempting to give us some of the personality make-up, Mary described her mother as a "proud, stubborn woman, who has no religion,

no idealism, no resources within herself, and no interest except drinking."

The patient stated that the Relief sent her to our clinic because she was nervous and working hard. She said: "Then I've been drinking too much. I drink to forget but I've stopped now. I can stop anytime I like because I drink wilfully and deliberately. It hasn't done me any harm. I've never had any bad effects from it. I never keep it up. I just get in with a crowd spasmodically."

Mental examination revealed an obese woman with heavy powder on her face and dyed red hair. She cried easily and answered readily and to the point. Patient stated she was depressed most of the time since the death of her husband and boy. No content disorder was present. She said she was at City Hospital (instead of the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic of Johns Hopkins); that the president was *Frederick D. Roosevelt*; that the leader of the Spanish Insurgents was *Francis Francisco*. She retained 6 digits forward, reversed 4 and made 3 mistakes in the serial sevens.

Physical Examination revealed marked tremors of the tongue, lips, fingers and eyelids. Pupils small but reacted. Deep reflexes hyperactive and tongue was smooth.

We felt that we were dealing with a patient with a severe alcohol problem and advised hospitalization at the Cambridge State Hospital on the Eastern Shore for 6 months under the Inebriate Act.

Our patient was admitted to the hospital and remained 6 months, during which time the daughter and her family made many Sunday visits there. Rapport and loss of hostility to the daughter developed during that six months period. The patient was discharged and, through the cooperation of the daughter and Welfare organization, obtained a position as housekeeper to a minister. The family relationship with her daughter's group increased—visits were made and the patient did very well at her job. She continued to do so and in the last year was appointed as division head housekeeper in a childrens' home in New York, where she is at the present time. The mother-daughter relationship is at an all-time high; the patient has not taken a drink since her first visit here and from the reports I obtain is leading a contented, efficient existence.

The daughter of this patient consulted me privately in October, 1938, at the age of 34, stating that she had been drinking heavily over a period of years and wanted to stop. She stated that her mother was an alcoholic, that her father and brother died as a result of alcoholism, that her maternal grandfather had been a daily drinker, and that her second

husband was alcoholic, who had spent a short period of time at the Sheppard Pratt Hospital in December, 1936, for the pre D.T's. Since that time her husband had continued to drink with her. As stated above, the mother spent a short period at Sheppard Pratt in June, 1938.

This patient, the daughter, was born in Delaware in 1904, the first of two children. She came to Baltimore with her family at the age of four. The patient started school at the age of six, went to P. S. 62, 63 and Jr. High No. 49, then to Western High School, from which she graduated. Following this she went to Teachers Training School for one year, transferred to business college, had two different positions, and then went to Johns Hopkins University where she worked and took several courses of study until 1924, at which time she met her first husband, a schizophrenic medical doctor, whom she soon married. They traveled around the country, living in shacks, road camps and so on. There were two pregnancies and births resulting from this marriage: a boy and a girl. The marriage was a very distressing and discouraging affair, hard on our patient and the children, and a very unhappy life. It ended a few years later in divorce. In 1928 (about a year and a half later), when the second child was 22 months, the patient married a man about her own age. There is one child, a girl, of this second marriage.

At the time of her first interview, we have this patient with her second husband (both drinking heavily), three children—a boy 13 1/2, a girl 12 1/2 and a girl age 8. In addition, we have the alcoholic mother (the patient we discussed first today), and the history of the dead alcoholic father (who had died about a year before the daughter consulted me), and of the dead alcoholic brother who had died about five months before the first interview. We have the daughter, husband and three children living in an 8 room house in a middle-class section of the city, the children going to school, the patient doing all the housework, taking care of the children and the family budget.

This patient, Mary, (again I mention that she is the daughter of the first patient discussed), was treated entirely extra-murally, and the treatment involved treating her whole immediate family for years—with all the usual daily problems of an American middle-class family. The husband, James, became a patient and was interviewed many times—he and his problems and adjustment will later be discussed briefly. The son, Charles, became a patient; and we all went through several dramatic and many irritating episodes with this young boy, who will also be discussed briefly.

Mary first visited my office daily, then three times a week, and then

less frequently. At present she makes about three report-visits a year. There were so many factors involved in the successful rehabilitation of this woman that one finds it impossible even to attempt a full summary—short of a novel approximating the size of “Gone with the Wind.” However, some outstanding ones that can be mentioned as points of reference are: alcoholic re-education per se; the understanding of and analytic-synthesis of her own personality; desensitization to certain traits in herself and others; the ventilation of daily problems; guidance on outside activities and occupations; following a diet with attention to sugar intake, and a schedule for adequate exercise and relaxation; methods of handling interpersonal situations and relationships; and developing the understanding that alcoholism was *not a dissipation but a symptom of an underlying illness*; that alcoholism was used many times to narcotize anxiety feelings, feelings resulting from frustration, from hostility, from retroactive early and later hurts, from unknown tensions and from feelings that resulted from conflicts, restlessness and boredom.

Briefly, some of the material brought out in the study of this patient follows:

(1) *Personality* described as always shy, self-conscious, aware of being different, embarrassed about tallness and lack of weight as an adolescent and young woman. On the Asset side the patient wrote: “I have always fancied myself intelligent. At least I learn quickly and have a good memory for things I’m interested in. But my interests have been largely bookish and theoretical things. I have never had any trouble getting along with people and they seem to like me. In the past I’ve worked pretty hard to be engaging and tactful. Now I’m more myself—but I still get along with them.”

On the Liability side she wrote: “I used to be very bashful and sensitive to ridicule. After I’d been with people I’d feel I’d made a fool of myself and think over and over again—Why did I ever do or say anything like that? I was rebellious. Part of me wanted to be different and part of me to conform. Only three years ago I registered socialist to shock my neighbors and because also I had been for years in sympathy with it and had voted for Norman Thomas. Now I am becoming a hidebound conservative and feel no conflict within myself about the change of front to the world.

“I was never very good at using my hands, and until I was married, in fact, I was quite helpless about tying up packages, mending, sewing, etc. I had to get over that.

“When I was young I couldn’t stand long without getting faint, or

sit still without fidgeting. I'm better at both of these now, although standing still tires me very much.

"I am generally at ease with people unless they're very nervous and uneasy themselves. As I have said I do not care to meet people intimately unless there is a reason for it—some common interest, in which case there would be no reason for any uneasiness. I am, however, quite in the habit of talking to strangers—again if there is some reason for it and the conversation begins naturally from what is going on.

"The only evidences of special complexes and tendencies I can think of right now is that I am remorseful and depressed after a quarrel with my husband or the children. With anyone else in fact—but I very seldom quarrel away from home. I have always dreaded and hated to have anger around."

Under Specific acts, habits, etc. that worried her she wrote: "My drinking worries me. Also losing my temper with the children. (I haven't done that hardly any more since I stopped drinking.) I am uneasy about my mother and my whole family. I have thought at times if I had been better myself I might have done something for them."

In regard to drinking and her life: "I always had hope that the future would be brighter. It was almost as if I were two persons and the one was good and brave and refused to be disgraced by the other. Generally speaking I tended more to drink lately when I was feeling *good*—that was to give an added fillip to a mood of elation. Although I would start sometimes when I was worried and nervous about my mother."

She also felt that she was not so competent or capable about managing housework and the budget as her acquaintances and neighbors, and worried and ventilated a great deal about this to me and on paper.

Friends: "I do not have at the moment or indeed since I have been married any intimate friends in the usual sense of the word. I am friendly and easy to get along with newcomers. It is easy for me to talk to people. But as for establishing friendships, that is another matter. Friendship is a growth of years—of common interest and propinquity. I have no sense of inferiority in regard to anything but my drinking. When I am sober and well I can meet anyone without embarrassment." The patient had in all about four intimate friends—two whom she had known in high school and whose lives took different paths so that the contact was broken up; one from Johns Hopkins University, from whom she had drifted apart, as the friend was older and "set in her ways;" and one friend who she met first in 1917. This girl became a successful school teacher and remained a close friend in spite of separations and infrequent

contacts. However, with other mothers in the neighborhood the patient had easy relationships and talked over the usual problems of housekeeping, children, school, etc., in the usual way.

Mary's early memories were of tense emotional situations at home, of her parents quarrelling, of her mother showing favoritism to the brother and constantly criticising and complaining about the father, to whom the patient was deeply attached. She writes of the first time she saw him trying to walk with his artificial legs, when he fell and frightened her, and then he pretended it was a game he was playing, so that they laughed together. Shortly after this she remembers a series of violent quarrels between her mother and father, and that he asked her if she wouldn't like to go live with him: "A dreadful fright seemed to take hold of me and I said I wanted them both. After that I think I must have watched them always to see if they seemed happy together and when they quarrelled, which was pretty often, I'd cry myself into hysterics. Then they'd send me to the movies and when I came back they usually made up and mother would be sitting on Dad's knee and Dad would say: 'See, everything is all right and you won't have to cry any more.'"

She continues: "One night he came home drunk and fell down in the front yard. Mother dragged him in the house and laid him on the floor in the parlor and called us children in. 'Look at him,' she said, 'look at your father.' And he lay there unable to move, but he knew what she was saying and his eyes looked like a dog's that was hurt more than he could stand. Mother said to Tom (the brother): 'I'd rather see you dead than like that.' And he is dead and was like that. That night Mother and Dad had tickets for the Maryland Theatre. She dressed and took Tom and me to see Ruth St. Dennis. I was about 9 then and Tom was 7."

Of herself as a child and young girl she says that she was "always bored, restless and trifling in school although generally either first or second in the class."

For a few years, during the war, her father did not drink heavily; but the home setup was insecure and guidance erratic, with the parents in conflict over discipline. As an example: the mother said it was all right for her to pick up men, provided she brought them home to be looked over. Some of the pick-ups would return as regular visitors—to pay calls on the mother. When prohibition came in, the father resumed drinking and made a great deal of home-brew—wines and brandies. He would invite people in and they would all get drunk. Mary was not

shocked. She thought they were funny. She was about 17 at the time. One of her father's friends tried to seduce her but gave it up because he said she was an icicle.

Mary had finished high school and had her first job at this time. Shortly after the above incident she quit to take another supposedly better job. In the office one of the men "wouldn't let the girls alone. He'd paw over me and write me love letters. I told my would-be seducer about it and he said: 'Shake him down for some money, honey, and we'll take a trip.' I couldn't stand it any longer, gave up my job, looked through the ads, found one at Hopkins. I did my work well, carried six or seven hours of classes a week and made a fool of myself going out with every boy who asked me. I was dated up sometimes three months ahead. Dad fought it, Mother thought it was grand. I didn't like any of them except one and I fell in love with him desperately. He was blond, with curly hair and blue eyes, and Irish. I wanted to marry him all right. But I didn't know how to go about it. I was so far off center that I might have belonged to a different world than my simple, healthy-minded sweetheart. He let me know it, too. I took it pretty hard. I had no one to talk to and we were staying with my father in Philadelphia where he was drunk all the time and making a fool of himself all over the hotel. Mother and I went to Atlantic City. She didn't swim or walk and I was left to myself. I spent my time picking up companions. I might say in passing that none of these people I picked up ever tried to kiss me or anything. It was just talking we did—I guess they were lonely too.

"So it went until finally I thought I'd picked a nice, pure, safe husband and got a lemon. I would have been a good wife to him, too, if he had let me."

The patient's first marriage has already been described in as much detail as this paper allows: the hurts, shocks, and experiences of those years had not been assimilated at the time she first sought treatment and help, and the two children constituted living, actual problems directly tied-up with her emotional past experiences. I shall refer and go into these a little in a few moments.

Based on the foregoing personality description and some of the early memories of her parents we get a relatively accurate picture of an individual, plus hurts and experiences of life, plus the strains of a second marriage, plus mother-father-brother-patient relationships, plus alcohol for all five individuals, three living.

Factors in the situation were:

- (1) A conscious statement of attachment to the father.
- (2) An apparent conscious resentment and hostility toward the mother, who had shown favoritism to the brother and hostility to the father.
- (3) Disturbance over the rivalry and hostility between the patient's two older children (of the first marriage).
- (4) Feelings of frustration in handling the boy, Charles, whom she felt she never understood. (His part in the picture will be discussed presently).
- (5) Open antagonism between the patient and the older daughter, Polly, and
- (6) Thrown upon the whole thing, the drinking, likeable second husband (James) who, although he tried to pour oil on troubled water, actually only succeeded in causing more disturbance by his opinionated thinking and utterances about political and economic matters and inability to get along with Charles.

Of the child, Polly, our patient writes:

"To begin with the discovery of her impending arrival was a terrible, sickening shock to me. By that time I had discovered how miserable my life was going to be with my husband. I was terribly afraid of him and he mistreated Charles and me. All the time before she was born I believe I was unhappier than I have ever been before or since. We had no home. He dragged us around the country and made me wear fantastic clothes and do fantastic things. I was sick, tired and anemic. When Polly was born I thought she was the ugliest baby I had ever seen. I stopped nursing her early—I wasn't getting enough to eat myself.

"She was 22 months old when James and I were married. I stayed home and took care of them. Charles resented her fiercely. We couldn't leave him alone with her. He'd bite her. When she began to talk she developed a dreadful stammer. For a matter of three years I worked with her and I was patient, so help me. I taught her to talk and she got along all right in school and has improved steadily ever since.

"She argues with me very much. She's given to expressing definite opinions with nothing to back them up. She does not obey readily or quickly when I ask her to do something. I have been unable to instill a

feeling of cooperation in her. She teases Sally (the step-sister and youngest child) in a sly way, making Sally set up a howl. She fights with Charles, saying the very things she knows will make him furious. She is so remote and self-contained that I don't ever remember having a spontaneous demonstration of affection from her. The only emotion she ever shows towards me is anger. I do not think she is fond of me at all. But she is definitely fond of James and wants to hang around us a lot when he is home. If, as happens rarely, we have a disagreement and she has started it or he agrees with her she is triumphant and gloats over it."

All this was preceded by the patient writing:

"It is rather difficult for me to be definite as to why I find Polly harder to get along with than the other children. I have felt often that it may be due to a definite lack of sympathy on my part."

At this present time, we have Mary, daughter of our first patient, adjusted well at home, abstaining completely since her first visit in 1938, living with her second husband, who also is abstaining. Her relationship with Polly is smooth—with a total outward loss of antagonistic-resentment-hostility feelings. Sally, the third child, and the only issue of the second union, was and is not a problem in any way. Our patient, Mary, is living an efficient, contented existence.

We shall now go very briefly into the case of the third patient—the second husband, a large, stout, bespectacled, now 39 year old college graduate engineer, known as James.

This man, who is kind, calm, who shares many of his wife's views and interests, is self-opinionated, definite in statement, an anti-New-Dealer (which gave cause for arguments and discussions in the past with the son, John), was a chronic alcoholic for many years, drinking with his wife and causing his admittance for about a month in 1936 at Shepard Pratt in a pre D.T. state. He was interviewed and examined with his wife in the autumn of 1938, started on some alcohol re-education, and all in all was seen about ten times. For the most part one might say that he was treated *indirectly* through his wife, who discussed many of our treatment conferences with him.

James had inherited a fixture business from his father. Although he was conservative in business, we all went through many ups and downs which involved the tightening or loosening of the family budget. He had labor troubles, pre-war and war changes of the type of work at the factory. He has abstained completely since about the same time as his wife. Recently there has been a very fine smooth-running family

inter-personal relationship. James is considering at this time liquidating his business and joining the Navy Sea Bees.

We now come to Mary's son, Charles, the first child of the first marriage. During all our contacts with Mary, Charles has bobbed up from time to time as a minor or somewhat major worry. The boy, a thin-built, precocious lad, was about 13½ when his mother first came seeking help for herself. She soon stated that she was upset many times by the bickering and quarrelling between Charles and Polly. From time to time advice was given as to how to handle these situations as they arose.

Mary would also report that Charles would get into discussions with James, relative to New Deal issues, economics and politics, which would just miss ending in a fist-fight—neither speaking to the other for days. At other times small amounts of money would be missing and it was assumed that Charles took some, as he would shortly appear with new phonograph records. At another time he took over a newspaper route necessitating after-school and early morning deliveries. He did his work well but at times there were discrepancies in the settling up. As he grew older he took a sudden interest in the Sunday School Society—played politics in the election of officers and when defeated for the presidency nearly broke up the Society.

Periodically he would evidence extreme hostility toward everyone in the family group, and would mix with boys his mother especially disapproved of. He graduated from high school and entered J. H. U. at an early age and did very well but soon decided that in our times college was not too important and that the thing to do was to work. As usual, a family discussion was provoked and, as usual, the episode and issue were presented to me. Charles went to work at Martin's, was placed in some type of laboratory research and soon, at the age of 17, was second in command of the group and earning \$45 a week. After a while he decided that the thing to do was not to live at home. I was again consulted, by visits, 'phone calls, and a letter; and our isolationist moved to another part of town. His mother was advised not to fight the move and that Charles would probably be glad to return home in the near future—which, after a short while, he did.

Working with older men at Martin's he got the "big shot" feeling and on two or three occasions stopped in at a bar or tavern and came home narcotized to some degree. This behavior did not last very long and in the spring of 1942 he met a girl of his own age who had rheumatic heart trouble. He fell very much in love and soon decided it was

time to get married. Both he and his mother shortly thereafter appeared at the office—both were calmed down and it was suggested to the boy that he not rush but take it a little slower. He left the office stating that he was not sure he could do this. One day I received a telephone call from his mother, who told me that a terrible thing had happened; Charles had taken the girl to Martin's to apply for a position, and while he was guiding and advising her there, she had suddenly dropped dead. He was quite shocked and soon became depressed. He came to the office quoting Schopenhauer and other philosophic views of life and death, and spent a great deal of time at home playing Wagner recordings. This went on for a few months. One day I heard my name called at the Induction Station—it was Charles, and he stated that he was enlisting in the Aviation Corps. I told him to go to another examiner, partly because I knew him and also because I felt he had pushed his age up some months to be enlisted. He was inducted, sent to a training center where he came out second of some six or eight hundred other soldiers. He was then sent to another specialized center in Florida, where he is now preparing for Officers' Training. Mary and James have, up to the present, received very fine, friendly and affectionate letters from him.

Polly and her problems and adjustments have already been more or less thoroughly discussed. She is doing quite well in school and mother-daughter friction is at a minimum.

Sally, the third child, as stated before has never been a problem in any way. She also is at school and doing well.

We now come to the present final chapter concerning this family group.

About five weeks ago James brought a first cousin into the office, a man who for many years had been an alcohol problem. About 40, he graduated from J.H.U. and was a specialized electrician. Single, sensitive, and shy, he had been in difficulties for years. He was treated at Cambridge and failed to abstain; went to and joined the Baltimore A.A.'s and failed to abstain, three or four of the group going off on a binge together. He was treated at Haarlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md., for two weeks. The day after his discharge he obtained a position at the Crown Cork and Seal and now comes three times a week for extra-mural help. Up to the present time, five weeks in all, he has not taken a drink.

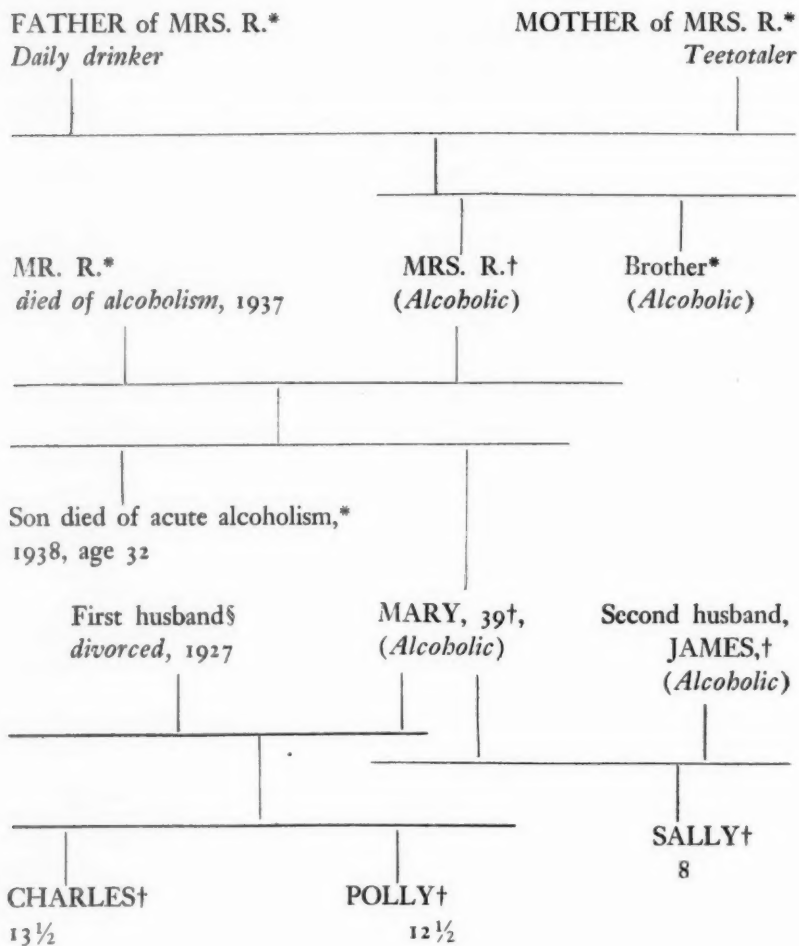
From the study of this American family one perhaps might summarize and conclude:

This family group picture of individuals presenting themselves for medical help due to chronic alcoholism, is here presented for many reasons. Among them:

- (1) Four generations are discussed.
- (2) The question of heredity, which so often comes up in discussions about alcoholism is well pictured here—but not answered—for, although this group used alcohol pathologically, one cannot say what part inherited susceptibility or sensitivity played, what part environment played, or what part conscious and/or subconscious identifications and/or imitations played.
- (3) All the living patients presenting alcohol problems (with the exception of the West Point graduate Major, who was not seen or examined) have abstained completely.
- (4) The type of therapy, intensity of therapy, number of visits, and place of therapy are more or less different in each instance.

FAMILY CONSTELLATION

1938



LEGEND

*—Individuals not seen

†—Individuals examined and/or treated.

§—First husband not seen.

PSYCHOLOGY FOR PARENTS

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At whatever age the child enters school, he exhibits certain definite personality trends. The influence of the home and the street have already put their stamp upon him. In the language of the Behaviorist, he has already amassed a vast array of conditioned responses. Some are transitory, others are enduring. Their modification and even extirpation, depends upon the strength of the motivating instinctive trends and the skill with which educative techniques are applied.

Education techniques are not exclusively the concern of the teacher. Parents, too, are being trained in their use. For unless parents collaborate with the teacher, little progress is made. But collaboration is not enough. Many educators are convinced that parents should familiarize themselves with the cardinal principles of personality development for the purpose of applying them to the rearing of their children. Hence the swelling volume of books on child psychology bearing such suggestive titles as "You and Your Child," "Education for Parenthood," and "Psychology for Parents."

The growing interest in parental education has launched the many investigations into child nurture and has produced an embarrassment of psychological riches which popularizers have minted into educational coins of so small a denomination as to place them within the reach of all. In the absence of a central educational mint, the practice of free coinage has brought into circulation enormous quantities of base coins whose spuriousness are evident only to the expert. Indeed the entire province of parental education has been gradually preempted by an army of amateurs and pseudo-educators; and parental avidity for psychological findings, which have been sharpened by Watson and Freud, is in imminent danger of being blunted by counterfeit psychology offered by facile writers.

The practice of writing down to the intellectual level of the man in the street, concededly of inestimable benefit, does not, in the least obviate the difficulty. Calling libido, "love" and the conditioned reflex, "habit" affords no better insight into their true inwardness. Nor does

simplification through trite analogy bridge the gap between a generalized principle drawn from a study of the mythical average child and its concrete application to an individual child with characteristics peculiarly its own. For the straining after the felicitous phrase and arresting simile invites over-simplification, and the desire to make psychology safe for amateurs betrays the writers of "Handbooks for Parents" into dogmatic assertions. This is the common fate of all attempts to make a highly specialized body of knowledge fit the Procrustean bed of uninformed intelligence.

The ineptness of much that passes for psychologic enlightenment does not preclude the feasibility of imparting to parents much valuable psychological information. Those who are tempted to address themselves to this task should confine themselves to an elucidation in non-technical language of the current psychologies and their basic conclusions. One needn't enter at length into the discussion of mooted points; there is an academic side to every science and is best left to the consideration of advanced students whose grasp of fundamentals is too firm to be weakened by rival theories or to be shaken by minor discrepancies. All psychological and sociological schools should be laid under requisition in the search for a loose synthesis having regard to the major contributions to child nurture.

There is the Freudian emphasis on parental influence during infancy and early childhood, with its emphasis on the dangers of arbitrary prohibitions and the attendant evils arising from forcible restraint of legitimate gratification of the instinctive urges. However, the preoccupation with sex should not be made to appear as the exclusive concern of all Freudians. It should also be made clear to parents that judicious repression need not give rise to complexes as long as the conflicts which provoke them are confined to the mental arena, where intelligence can obtain a hearing. It is the emotionally charged complexes that work havoc with the machinery of social adjustment owing to their invulnerability to intellectual weapons. For emotions crushed to earth will rise again even when reason provides the repressing force. But once a complex gains a foothold it operates in insidious and devious ways. The child it victimizes is powerless to dispossess it. An abnormal fear of dogs or horses cannot be dispelled by argument. Ridicule causes it to burrow more deeply into the Unconscious. The parents are aware of its unreasonable nature. They may learn to recognize its manifestations, but to entrust its extirpation to parents, no matter how well-informed, is to

court disaster. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that the layman-psychologist can work more harm than the layman-doctor.

Although the treatment of complexes must be left to specialists, parental cooperation may be enlisted by describing various techniques in practice. There is Freudian method of psychoanalysis. It is based on the following assumptions: First, is the belief that the victim is not aware of the causative factors: They had been driven into the deep recesses of the Unconscious. During the process of repression, the complex remains in the Unconscious, and there becomes a link in a long chain of associations, whose ramifications reach its farthest boundaries. In time complete repression is effected but the complex retains its emotional energy unimpaired. Subsequently, any experience that links up with this wide-flung associative chain, reactivates this complex-ridden behavior normally unassociated with such experience. It is as if the pushing of a button that turned on the electric lights should, through unaccountable crossing of wires, touch off a fire alarm! Now, psychoanalysis seeks to lay hold of that chain, through free association by inviting the afflicted individual to talk on anything that enters his mind to the end that some phrase may make a contact with some of its links. When the complex is probed there is evidenced a feeling of confusion and reluctance to continue the exploration. At this point the psychoanalyst ruthlessly hauls the offending link into the light of intelligence where psychic germs cannot live.

The psychoanalytic way of affording relief to complex-ridden individuals is best suited to the treatment of malignant cases. The less virulent complexes may be detected by complex indicators. The method of "free association" with its tortuous pursuit of spontaneous sequences, is replaced by that of "word-association" in which the stream of consciousness is guided into predetermined channels. Having decided upon the nature of psychic obstruction, the psychoanalyst draws up a series of words, mostly chosen at random, interspersed with a few words of obvious suggestiveness. The patient is asked to react spontaneously and unhesitatingly to each one recording in seconds and fractions thereof the time elapsing between the utterance of the stimulus word and his reaction to it. Whenever the stimulus word probes a psychic wound, or an incriminating weakness, the patient is thrown into an emotional turmoil. He hesitates unduly or gives a decidedly irrelevant answer. The complex has been exposed and the examiner proceeds to dissect it out.

The Watsonian Behaviorists assail the psychology of the Freudians

but accept, in part, their therapy. They disallow the existence of the Unconscious or even Conscious. The environment with its welter of sights, sounds, tastes, and smells on the physical plane, and injunctions, prohibitions, attitudes and their verbal organization, on the social plane, register impressions both in accidental and controlled ways on the neural mechanisms, bodily organs and endocrine glands in much the same way as objects are imprinted on sensitized photographic plates. The impressions registered in the nervous system and viscera are closely bound up, the latter supplying the emotional note. The emanations from environmental sources are the stimuli; the responses are their bodily correlates. There are certain stimuli which invariably provoke the same responses. These are known as fundamental biologic stimuli. Their corresponding responses are called instincts. Any other stimulus, by itself or immediate association with a biologic one, may evoke a response. The fundamental or substitutive stimulus produces the conditioned response or reflex; all other stimuli are operative as unconditioned reflexes.

Now the whole process of education, from the inculcation of habits to the formation of character is, according to the Behaviorists, merely a matter of conditioning, of contriving the suitable situation and thereby eliciting the approved response. Heredity, except in relation to the texture of the nervous system and the functioning of bodily organs, is a negligible factor. Conversely, habits and attitudes detrimental to the individual, may be eradicated by the technique of unconditioning. Take the illustrative example of childish fears. They are no more in-born than the antipathy to snakes. They are indifferent elements of the environment until solicitude for the safety of the child invests them with fearful significance. First a dog, then the word "dog" are emotionalized so that the normal rhythm of heart, stomach and endocrine glands are seriously disturbed. The fear assumes the aspect of a complex but unlike the Freudian variety, it does not gravitate to a mythical Unconsciousness, but it entrenches itself in the viscera. Psychoanalysis merely gives it intellectual visibility but it does not dislodge its hiding place—unconditioning does. Its technique involves the gradual habituation to the provocative stimulus. The child is brought into a room. A toy dog is placed in a remote corner while the child busies herself with food or toys. During subsequent visits, the dog is brought imperceptibly nearer to the point of closest proximity. The slow approach induces a state of quiescence in the visceral organization which eventually disintegrates for lack of stimulation. Watson is in complete agreement with the Freu-

dians in discounting the practice of appealing to the child's intelligence. Intelligence is not a constituent of fear; emotion is, and feelings are notoriously irrational. Hence, the fatuity of the counsel preferred by a popular writer on child training who confidently asserts that the fear of caterpillars could easily be turned into wonder and liking by recounting "the beautiful story of the butterfly." On the same supposition, the gunshy recruit may be beguiled into losing his fear of firearms by regaling him with the story of gun powder!

Although intelligence plays a subsidiary role in the resolution of complexes, it is not without its therapeutic value. It serves to guard the adjusted individual against emotional relapses, and new infections. But mere perspicacity is not enough. There must be understanding and the quality of understanding depends upon the ability to articulate discrete and isolated elements into inclusive wholes. The ability has been analyzed by the Gestaltists into a subjective and an objective phase. On their view, all environmental stimuli presented to the senses are perceived as organized into groups according to the degree of congruity they sustain to each other. This is the objective side of apprehension. The subjective side is termed "insight," the spontaneous awareness of such integration or "pattern."

It may be objected that not all sensory material is cast into patterns and one can learn without becoming cognizant of its patterned unity. A historical date can be driven in by sheer iteration. This is how habits are formed. The Gestaltists readily concede the possibility. But they contend that this mode of acquisition does not lead to understanding. The perception of the pattern into which the habit falls is a pre-requisite to it. In the absence of a natural pattern insight may throw the elements into an artificial one. Mnemonics arise from this need for such structured organization.

What is the significance of this theory for character building? It will aid parents in forming the child's habits and in administering disciplinary measures. In inculcating such habits as personal tidiness, admonitions to keep clean and injunctions 'to wash the ears and the neck' are but atoms of the organic whole. The total situation, the act of ablutation, the examples of well-behaved children, the rewards of cleanliness, the social strictures against slovenly appearance, and the hygienic benefits of cleanliness must be articulated into a pattern to the end that insight may fructify it into understanding. Otherwise practice is viewed as an arbitrary imposition of parental authority or a means of exhorting rewards.

Repressive discipline is just as objectionable. Unless the child sees the 'why' of the reproof through an act of insight into the antecedents and consequences of his misbehavior, unless he envisages it in the larger context of social expediency, he cannot dilate with the proper emotion nor effect a voluntary adjustment.

The contemplation of the social implications of misconduct and its repercussions on one's fellows, tends to foster out-mindedness, the willingness to weigh one's actions on the scales of impersonal judgment. It also promotes the growth of the sentiment of fair play through the discovery that the Golden Rule is based on a reciprocity in which only the doer of the good deed may expect to become the beneficiary of the good deeds of his associates. Irrationalized restraint may bring about unquestioning conformity on the plane of habit but the specific nature of habit—the response to a definite stimulus—militates against future compliance unless there is a marked similarity between the present situation and its prototype. On the other hand, the disciplinary influence of the introspective evaluation of behavior is both corrective and educative; it furnishes standards and norms by which to assess the consequences of one's acts and from the "how" of failure he can proceed to the "how" of improvement.

This does not mean that one must "reason" with children. Children can oppose adult reasoning with countervailing arguments drawn from the disconcerting logic of juvenility—a logic which is freed from the trammels of fallacy and the restraints imposed by the scientific temper; a logic which generalizes brilliantly and audaciously. Its data are atomized facts and experiences, which are forced into close association by inferring relationship on the most tenuous grounds. Especially flagrant are the violations of logical validity in dealing with ethical conduct. The exigencies of modern living betrays one into too many ethical compromises and exceptions and inject into moral codes a disruptive element which the young are apt to apply with devastating effect. It is, therefore, futile to argue with children on matters involving "facts" for their sense of the realness of things is illusory; it is fatuous to argue about the moral implications of conduct, for the adult's attitude of moral relativism, enforced by expediency, reduces the number of axiomatic ethical truths to the vanishing point.

It may seem that the curative and corrective psychology is here stressed unduly, but there is ample warrant for such emphasis in the adverse conditions under which infant personality develops. The foundation of character is laid down in the first five years. During this period

parents are swayed by parental affections and when the tide of feelings is in full flood reason is submerged. The heart is slow to execute what the head commands, and the deprivations and restraints that the psychologist imposes appear harsh and even inhuman. The helplessness of infancy arouses the protective instinct. Sophistication may rob it of some of its primitiveness; it rarely quenches its urgency. As a consequence, the children are indulged and the laws of psychology are temporarily suspended, if not permanently repealed.

The unsettling effect of indulgence is augmented by the high degree of suggestibility characteristic of infancy. The promiscuous nature of many of the environmental stimuli, the child's uncritical acceptance of them, and the impossibility of controlling and modifying them so as to contrive an educative environment, tends to weaken parental influence. One is reminded of the problem "If one pipe fills a tank in two hours and another empties it in three hours, how long will it take to fill it?" So long as environment of the street and the playground cannot be rigidly controlled, so long as the maternal instinct rejects the teachings of psychology, just so long will chance play its part in the formation of character and psychology will be more honored in the breach than in the observance.

However, parental love soon loses some of its unbridled solicitude. But by that time the child's character has become sharply etched in its main outlines. Thenceforth education must deal with its major tendencies as primary data. As far as these are anti-social, they must be uprooted or redirected, through sublimation, into socially approved channels. Insidious complexes and objectionable habits must be eradicated. This calls for re-education. Hence, the imperative need for information concerning the techniques employed in the re-building of character. And as long as human nature is what it is, parents will continue to bring up children in accordance with the promptings of instinct. The psychologist will be well advised to confine his efforts to undoing the damage wrought by parents who are ruled by feelings and emotions. Any other course will prove barren of results. To persist in enlightening parents who will not or cannot be enlightened is to write oneself down as wanting in insight into the blindness of instinct and the fortuitous nature of environmental forces. To expect parents to deal successfully with vagaries, idiosyncracies, and abnormalities of character is to show oneself more naive than the physician who indites books on "Be Your Own Doctor."

Thus the relative imperviousness of parental solicitude to the teach-

ings of psychology, coupled with the inability to assume an attitude of scientific detachment toward one's offspring, argues for a more cautionary approach to parental education. While psychological orientation to human nature may seem to humanize parental authority, it rarely makes itself felt during the crucial period of infancy. However, there are child activities with respect to which the education of parents has been highly successful. The most important of these are nutrition, sleep, elimination, dressing and walking. Though, seemingly of non-psychological order, the routine habits which are associated with each are grounded on emotional trends and mental attitudes. Any deviation from the principles governing the formation of habit may work incalculable harm. Nutrition, for example has a physiological and psychological aspect. The physiological considerations are many. There is the parent's concern with the child's appetite and food. The unenlightened mother fails to evaluate the factors involved in good and poor appetite. She may not know that sleep, fresh air, sunshine and exercise, and regular hours for meals condition a good appetite; that a poor appetite can not be bettered by offering rewards or inflicting punishment; that certain foods, such as orange-juice, contain a vitamin that induces appetite. Over-solicitous mothers are prone to resort to forced feeding, a practice that may lead to disordered digestion and distraught nerves. A child's dislike of certain foods is often ascribed to sheer willfulness rather than to repletion or its indigestibility. A knowledge of dietetics may disclose the availability of more palatable foods.

The nutritional activity has far-reaching psychological repercussions. The sound mind will not flourish in an unsound body. Physical health spells mental health. Mental health may also be undermined by nervous strain. The child who finds meal time a harrowing experience, who is continually harassed by a worried and nagging mother, who is forced to over-eat in order to conform to a generalized table of age-weight constructed for the mythical "average child," will grow to detest all food, suffer impairment of digestion and will come to view the exercise of parental authority as a diabolic agency for the frustration of desires and the subjugation of the self. Not all children react similarly to such family conflicts. The timorous child submits patiently but it is a deceptive experience with an undercurrent of dissatisfaction that may engender adverse attitudes. The more assertive child rebels openly or falls back on such defensive mechanisms as vomiting. One youngster defended himself against maternal exactions by retaining the food in his mouth for indefinite periods. He usually succeeded in wearing

down the mother's patience by resisting every importunity to swallow his food. He had taken his first lesson in the art of frustrating authority by unyielding recalcitrance.

The avoidance of such untoward experiences depends upon the cultivation of an attitude of objectivity and impersonality. Its attainment involves the inhibition of affective urges. But the call of affection is easier to resist in situations involving the physical health of the child than in those involving mental health. For one thing the traditional view of infancy considers bodily growth as paramount. Life is reduced to two appetites, eating and sleeping. The psychic activities are dormant and pass through a period of incubation that should not be accelerated. For another, parents give more heed to the admonitions of the dietician than to adjurations of psychologists. For dietetics invokes the prestige of science, with its implications of exactitude and infallibility while psychology harbors too many dissenters to present to the layman that united front and that unanimity among its practitioners which obtains in the science of nutrition. Therefore, advice tendered by the dietician is less likely to be disregarded.

Such advice has been incorporated in a number of directions designed to aid parents in cultivating a child's appetite. They are purely psychological though their effects are seen upon the physiological phase of nutrition. The *Twenty-Eight Year Book of the National Society for the Study of Education* lists six rules:

1. Make the meal hours happy and free from any emotional strain.
2. Overlook trivial faults and avoid haggling over table manners which can be learned later.
3. Adopt an attitude of indifference and unconcern toward the child's eating.
4. Be firm and consistent in the treatment of the child.
5. Refrain from talking too much about food.
6. Give him approval when he does it willingly and quickly.

The routinization of other child activities may be accomplished as frictionlessly and as detachedly. The physiological foundations of good sleeping, elimination, dressing and walking habits are reducible to hab-

ituation in those bodily activities and muscular co-ordination which conduce to the building of heathy bodies. The technique of inculcating habits involves the mastery of ways and means of influencing human behavior and is most efficacious when the relationship between parents and child are characterized by a friendliness that is neither militantly possessive nor intrinsically solicitous. With but slight adaptions and additions the rules governing the formation of proper nutritional habits may be applied to other activities associated with infancy.

Equally important for the personality of the child is the parental preoccupation with (1) play activities and (2) its participation in co-operative living. Various theories have been advanced with regards to the socializing effects of play but there is a gratifying unanimity in lauding its "employment" aspect. Keeping a child busy with sand-table and toys provides countless opportunities to draw off surplus energy that otherwise issues in obstreperous conduct. "An idle brain is the devil's workshop;" he can only be exercised by complete absorption in a task. The movement to establish circulating libraries for toys is more educational than philanthropic.

Playthings also subserve a moral purpose. "For it is only in his play the child's whole power is called forth, that he gets himself entirely into what he does. Or rather, in play he puts more than was actually there, or would ever have existed if called for by less powerful enchanter. Play is like a chemical reaction; in it the child's nature leaps out toward its own and takes possession." The impact of self-assertion upon the child's environment is often productive of conflicts. The more refractory and baffling the environment the more acute is the resulting nervous stress. Now, when parents symbolize the obstructive environment, resentment is deeper because in the past the child had been the beneficiary of their kindness and forbearance. It is, therefore disposed to view parental interference as a manifestation of willfulness and arbitrariness. But inanimate things, like toys, always wear a neutral expression, neither benevolent nor forbidding! The uniformity and impersonality of their reactions lead to the discovery that there is an assertedness about things that cannot be ascribed to whim; that their potentiality for frustrating the will of the child inheres in their uncompromising resistance to human domination, a resistance that cannot be overcome by wheedling or by the display of temper. He soon learns to accommodate his behavior to the exigencies of the inanimate world, the world of unsympathetic, unresponsive objects. He discovers that life refuses to honor his mandates; that persistence does not avail against all environmental forces; that there

is a power to which he must bow or suffer dire consequences. Thus the discipline of consequences makes itself felt as implacable force that modifies the instinctive drive for assertiveness and subdues it to moral ends. Its anti-social effects measurably abate and to that extent, becomes more pervious to socializing influences.

However, adequate social development cannot be attained in an environment of things. The "give and take" of life arises out of the interaction between the child and the world of people. Destiny decides that "we are, by reason of those about us." Personal contacts build in habits and attitudes which repetition crystallizes into personality traits. We are overbearing or considerate in our relations with our fellows according as unreasoning instinctual assertiveness has been offset by reasoned submissiveness. We become socialized when we learn to accept the duties and obligations of group membership.

Such duties and obligations are not imposed without a struggle. For instincts are predominantly anti-social. Some of them must be profoundly modified, and others, suppressed. Even the gregariousness, the most socialized of instinctive drives, displays anti-social bias. Its goal is the aggrandizement of the self rather than the welfare of the group. If the conflict is protracted into the period of adulthood, it may never be fully resolved.

Hence the need for social activities in early childhood. The parental relations are fruitful of social adjustments but the social standards enforced are adult standards whose sanctions are based on the logic of necessity and the claims of superior wisdom. The child's intelligence and experience are too limited to accept both the logic and the wisdom of social norms to which they are urged to yield allegiance. Furthermore, the parental view of social education, rigid control and not flexible guidance, is apt to be stressed. And control places the accent on training rather than on education.

It is only in atmosphere unclouded by the threat of coercion, that social education becomes educative. This requisite is fulfilled in the play-group. Playing and living with other children offers countless opportunities for making voluntary adjustment to the group as a whole and to the individuals who compose it. While too much supervision quenches spontaneity, too little supervision is to be condemned. Too close contacts are overstimulating. Again, children may make undesirable adjustments, adjustments in which domination or subordination are carried to the extremes of contemptuous arrogance or grovelling self-consciousness. Supervision should make itself felt in the unobtrusive man-

ipulation of the social environment to the end that each child is safeguarded against all physical hazards and is afforded opportunities to participate fully in the group activities. To insure full participation, it is necessary to segregate the unruly, protect the diffident and retiring, and to introduce games and activities in which the assertive are forced to assume subordinate roles while the timorous are assigned parts calling for assertiveness. Thus, children may be led, by gradual stages, to discriminate between that legitimate exercise of self-assertion which the group recognizes as the prerogative of competent leadership, and that assumption of dominance which is motivated by ruthless self-seeking. Once the status of leadership is clarified, and the boundaries of assertiveness are fixed, it is easy to bring the correlative tendency of submission or subordination into proper relationship to it. Domination and subordination soon crystallize into adjustive attitudes upon which successful membership in the group and in society is predicated.

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Special Article

WAR, CRIME AND THE COVENANT

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PART III. CRIME IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY*

2. The Principle of Reciprocity

Wrongs have to be avenged and people who have suffered somehow have to be compensated. This seems quite self-evident and does not appear to demand any further explanation.

However, we find in Normany Island that the idea of balancing or of payment pervades society to such a degree that there seems to be nothing else beyond this.

One day my head boy was counting his money.⁽¹⁾ "Not much left," he says. "I am spending it all on my wife and son." "Well why do you spend so much?" I ask him. "I have to because I am happy when I see them, so I must pay them for that." It would be quite wrong to interpret the word "*maisa*" (pay) literally, in the same sense as we use the word. What it really means is compensation, balancing. The boy has been going to the girl's house for some time and has been spending the nights with her. He has to get home before dawn because if he comes in after sunrise his mother and sister begin to feel the *nadiwara*, i. e., their body feels heavy like a stone. But after a while the girl's relatives decide that it is time to do something about it. So the future mother-in-law sits down before the door. But she being his potential in-law relation he cannot step over her. Therefore he has to stay after sunrise. The matter is now a public affair and the *pokara* or marriage presents are started. Presents go from the husband's family to the wife's, or rather future wife's and vice-versa. After a time the marriage feast or *sararerea*

* Part I appeared in the April 1943 issue, Part II in the July and October issues, and the first half of Part III in the October, 1943, issue of *The Journal*.

(1) This is a mission-educated boy and money means the salary he gets from me.

(sitting together) is held, but the presents and counter presents continue. Now they are called *sebu*. It is not buying the bride by any means because theoretically the value of the presents and counter presents is supposed to be equal. These presents last for ever, and even after death the recriminations continue. Thus in Bulema's case his mother claims the right to the father's grounds⁽¹⁾ because the *sebu* made by them exceeded those they had received.

Beside this, however, these presents and counter presents develop a system which is the very backbone of society. The whole system is based upon matrilineal marriage and the superior rank of the local clan. The husband lives in his wife's village and his sister is supposed to be giving presents all the time to his wife. The point in giving this special tie of presents is to induce the wife to reciprocate by a big ceremonial feast called *mwadare*, which she gives in honor of her sister-in-law. The presents given at this *mwadare* are immediately reciprocated by counter presents. The counter presents are called *seudana*, i. e., cooked food. The wife and her group have passed the *mwadare* presents (yams, pigs, etc.) to the sister-in-law and her kin and this group return the compliments with presents of the same kind, but symbolically called cooked food. This, however, does not end the obligation of the side who has received the *mwadare*. They have to make the *mwadare* in honor of the wife and her family and at this *mwadare* the wife and her people will be returning compliments with the *seudana* and at the same time it is now their duty to prepare for a counter-*mwadare*. And so on *ad infinitum*.⁽²⁾

The same principle holds good for the mortuary festivals of all types. The in-laws are the mourners. They give presents to the members of the dead person's matrilineal clan and receive counter presents. The essence of this society seems to be an effort to make up for something, to counteract a depression—or on the contrary to balance "out of bounds" behavior by artificially inducing a depression. Whenever one inquires about a war canoe or a pig it is important to know the name. The name of the pig may be Hungry or that of the canoe may be Ocean. The explanation forthcoming is somewhat on these lines. The owner of the pig was travelling from one village to the other. He had nothing to eat and was hungry when he turned in for the night. So he decided that in order to compensate himself for his sorrow he would give a *sagari*

(1) Descent is matrilineal; the soil (garden) is inherited by the nephew.

(2) Cf. Róheim, "Tauhau and the Mwadare," *International Journal of Psycho Analysis*, XIII, 121-150.

(food distribution ceremony) and the pig he would raise for the sagari would be called Hungry. The canoe would get its name because an uncle may have been visiting his nephew who lived across the ocean on another island. So he would grumble about how many times he had to cross the ocean to see him and to reward himself for his pains and make up for his fatigue he would build a war canoe and call it Ocean.

The *loiwara* performance is something similar but with two sides to the proceeding. If they decide that a sagari of this type should be given, a man will stand up in public and insult his wife someway, for instance, calling her a "thick vulva." Thereupon he and his *susu* (matrilinear clan) are under the obligation to give a *sagari* in honor of the offended wife.

The *mwadare* described above contains a similar element, for, by giving the presents one side is always triumphantly refuting the accusations made by the other side.

On the other hand we have *shame as the main method of enforcing the law*. When discussing the *kune* (ceremonial trading expedition) transactions, I was told that on account of some difference of opinion between the two parties, Duau had stopped trading with Dobu. Kauanamo of Mayawa, one of the oldest chiefs and most renowned sorcerers, stuck a pole into the sand on the beach and said thus far the trading could go and no further. "Well," I asked, "What would happen if somebody disregarded these prohibitions?" The reply was that they would build a platform in the center of the village and politely invite the offender to take a seat on the platform. "Well, what is so awful about that?" I asked them. The reply was that only a very great chief could afford to sit on a platform and only a very great chief could dare to go against Kauanamo's decisions. If he had the courage to do that he must be a great chief and hence the platform. But as he was not really a great chief, he would feel terribly embarrassed at this undeserved honor, and the fear of this embarrassment would prevent him from taking the risk.

This *interaction of boasting and shame* is brought out in a striking manner in the "Naven" behavior described by Bateson.

Naven behavior is essentially the nephew boasting in the presence of the uncle.⁽¹⁾ If the boasting is carried to an excess the uncle will resent it and will rub his buttocks on the nephew's skin. The threat that this might happen is sufficient to curb the man's tongue.⁽²⁾

(1) Bateson, G., *Naven*, 1936, 8.

(2) Bateson, *l. c.*, 12.

This sequence of mania-melancholia (boasting-shame) has a genital background.

"The outstanding feature of the ceremonies is the dressing of men in women's clothes and the women in the clothes of men."

The classificatory uncles dress themselves in the most filthy of women's weeds and when so arrayed they are referred to as *nyame* (mother), their bellies are bound with string like those of pregnant women. The "mothers" wandered around the place trying to find their child and he had to hide because when they find him they demean themselves still further by rubbing the cleft of their buttocks down the boy's legs. This is a sort of sexual salute which compels the nephew to get valuables in all haste which he presents to his uncle to "make him all right."⁽¹⁾

The part played by the women in these rites is especially significant. The boy's boasting starts after some great achievement, especially *homicide*. Now what happens is this. The female relatives dress up in men's attire, especially in the father head-dresses and homicidal insignia of the men folk.⁽²⁾ The mother's brother's wife dances in a bedraggled skirt with her head inside a fishing net. She wears the enemy head suspended from her neck and with her raised hand she holds a digging stick behind her shoulders. Another *mbora* (mother's brother's wife) might have the jaw bone of an enemy hung around her neck.⁽³⁾ In the second incident the *iau-udo* (father's sisters in male costume) carry in their hands a feather ornament such as the homicide wears on his head dress. The mother's brother's wives in male costume lie on the ground and the *iu-ndo* step over them with the feathers. Then the women who were lying on the ground snatch the feathers and run off with them.

Now comes the third incident. The mother's brother puts on a skirt and fixes an orange colored fruit in his anus. He climbs up the ladder and displays the fruit. The orange fruit represents the *anal clitoris* which they imagine the women have. At the top of the ladder the uncle goes through the act of copulation with his wife but she is acting the male rôle and he the female.

Again the nephew is supposed to be much ashamed at this spectacle and his sister weeps when she sees it.

Now a large pear shaped prawn trap is put on the ladder of the house. All the women of the village lie down naked on the ground side

(1) Bateson, *l. c.*, 12.

(2) Bateson, *op. cit.*, 17.

(3) Bateson, *op. cit.*, 19.

by side in front of the ladder. The killer steps over the women to walk into the house. As he walks he is ashamed to look at their genitals. He therefore walks with his head up feeling his way with his feet on this occasion. Then the women would say about the vulva "That so small a place out of which this big man came."

His sister accompanies him as he steps. She shows no modesty but attacks the vulvae with her hands as she passes, especially that of the elder brother's wife (*tsbaishi*). Seeing this she would exclaim, "A vulva!" But the *tsbaishi* would reply "No, a penis."

Then she sings a comic song about the fish trap and goes into the house. "In this last incident," Bateson says, "The fish trap is certainly the symbol of the vulva."⁽¹⁾

If we consider the main features of this picture one thing is evident at first sight.

Women take the rôle of men and men the rôle of women. With an interchange of sexes we should expect castration symbols. The head of the enemy killed by the boy is worn by the mother's brother's wife—another woman wears the jaw bone. These like the digging stick she hold up, evidently represent the penis of which the homicidal warrior has been deprived. Even between two groups of women we have the same sex interchange and castration symbolism. Mother's brother's wives lie on the ground (in male attire; representing their husbands) father's sisters step over them.⁽²⁾ Then the castration; the women who are playing the female rôle snatch the feathers from those who are playing the male role,

The scene between the mother's brother and his wife needs no further explanation.

The next scene with the women lying on the ground naked and the conquering hero stepping over them is the nucleus of the whole proceeding. The women remark about their vulva, "this is where that great man came out," i. e., all the women in this scene stand for the hero's mother. He avoids the vulvae, but his sister who accompanies him as a kind of double deliberately touches them. Then he spears the fish trap and goes into the house.

Now we recognize the homicide as Oedipus, who has killed his

(1) Bateson, *op. cit.*, 21.

(2) On stepping over as symbolic coitus see Róheim, "The Significance of Stepping Over," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*. III, 320-326.

father (represented by the enemy) and is having symbolic intercourse with his mother.⁽¹⁾

All human achievement is the deed of Oedipus and the boaster is he who brazenly proclaims this victory. But pride comes before the fall and he is reduced to normal stature by castration anxiety. The references to the woman's penis ("A vulva," "No a penis") and the phantasy about the anal clitoris show clearly how, as Freud has postulated, the "female penis" phantasy is a cover for the castration anxiety caused by the vagina (cut off penis).

What is the meaning of the demonstration of the uncles? It is a taunt, "So, now you would like to reduce us to a female rôle, eh?" For the uncle is evidently a substitute for the father and they now tell the boy that after the victory he would now like to castrate his father and see him in the subordinate position of a woman. This is what the boy denies in his shame reaction and in the presents he hastens to bring to his uncle to appease him.

The triumph of the young man means a defeat for the older man for which the latter is compensated by presents while the former suffers in the form of anxiety.

The achievement, the victory, is the deed of Oedipus. The counter attack is led by the super-ego and expressed in this case in the form of castration anxiety. This interaction of ego and super-ego is the basic element in many customs and also the matrix out of which the retributive aspect of society is evolved.

The person or group that does not retaliate must remain in the state of depression and the social function of the punishment is therefore not so much to prevent the criminal from repeating his deed as rather to make the injured party feel better.

In cases of aggression masked by a reaction formation we can show the working of this mechanism quite distinctly.

We are at the *mwadare* celebration of Gagayowana⁽²⁾ The *siwapa* (tower) has been filled with yams and the men climb up the tower to shout their triumphal cries. Obeda says, "Don't put your hand into my basket! You have taken my betel nuts so you must compensate me by killing a pig for me."

(1) Cf. above the chapter on head-hunters.

(2) Cf. for the following Róheim, "Tauhau and the Mwadare," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XI.III, Pgs. 121-150.

This is what Daiko, the woman who is being honoured by the feast said when he took some of her betel nuts. The implication is that Obeda is not man enough to raise a pig and now he has refuted it because he has contributed a pig to the festival. Towards the end of the proceedings the pig is taken to Wegara there to be distributed by Doketa among his own people. Doketa immediately returns the present and the other pig travels the opposite way. It is distributed in Gagayowana by To Dimurey. To Dinare climbs up and says, "The two brothers always used to ask, one of them we mourned for, and for one we did the work." To Iarere's brother died. He and his brother always said, "What about the *mwadare* for our wives," Well now here it is; we have done it.

Neyawesi climbs up this time. "The people of Gagayowana are only children. If there was one real big man among them they would make a *mwadare* for our daughters—they make a *mwadare* only like the excrement that sticks to their anus."

Loboda and other villages have reproached them saying that they are only children and there is no real big chief among them. "You reproached us that we were slow to make *mwadare*, you implied that we were only children who cannot even wipe the feces off after defecation! Look at this!" And with a triumphant flourish he throws the betel nuts from the top of the tower.

A general scramble ensues and Gagayowana can see the men of Loboda first and foremost among those who rush to pick up their betel nuts. The last sentence has a second meaning and this is the real *ona gagasa* (proud talk). It means "All this wealth we are distributing to-day is a mere trifle; it is the excrement that remains in the anus of a child after defecation! we are so rich, this is all it means to us!"⁽¹⁾

The *mwadare* is "like war" our informants say. That is, every present is really an aggression converted into the opposite. Lack of this socialized aggression would mean that the group in question is helpless, is a child, is castrated.

The same is valid when aggression is manifested as such. The aim of aggression is really "face saving."

A case of adultery at Wogeo is described by Hogbin as follows:

"Not long after this a party out pig-hunting found Bara, the wife of Sawang, in the bush with a man of another village. Adultery was at once suspected and by the evening everybody knew about it. Sawang came and sat down near Marigum's house and the other men gathered

(1) Róheim, *op. cit.*, 137-138.

around him. He himself was very angry and Waru appeared to be beside himself. He paced up and down, waving his arms asking, "Do they think we are children? Let us strike them back." Others joined in with, "Are we their cooks?" The meaning of this phrase which is very often used is "Are we their inferiors?" After a great deal of talking and threatening it was agreed that a visit should be made the following morning to the adulterer's village to say what they thought of him. If Sawang had been an older man he would have gone off fully armed as soon as he heard what had occurred, but being very young he hesitated to take such a step without first consulting his fellow-villagers. In the meantime, Yam, Marigun's wife, paid a visit to Bara and upbraided her for her conduct. That night she fled to her relatives.⁽¹⁾ She came back the following day because they had scolded her so much.

Hogbin says, "When the group broke up I walked back with Waru and into his house to talk over the affair. His wife was there and he began to tell her what had been decided. I soon gathered that he was not nearly as disturbed as I had thought. I made further enquiries and found that a few days before he and Sewang had quarrelled, and that now he was, in part at least, glad at what had taken place. I was then anxious to know why he wished to punish the adulterer. The explanation offered was that when a woman commits adultery the whole of her husband's clan is angry, because "the name of the clan is made low," that is, the reputation of the members of the clan suffers. Punishing the adulterer or insulting him "raises" the name again and has also the effect of frightening away other men from the women folk of the clan. The whole clan is angry too because the "theft of the wife of one person is felt by everyone just as if his own wife were stolen." Waru added that "the members of a clan all feel the pain even if a blow had been struck at only one of them."

"The following day the expedition duly set off and Sewang beat the gong and hurled insults at the adulterer." "Kajim-kwa (the man's name) had been sworn at both in the native language and in English at great length and all sorts of threats of what would happen to him uttered. There were a number of references to what had been done to men who had interfered with Dap women in the past and also to the prestige of the clan. I now asked my two informers in the adulterer's village to tell me what had been said but they protested they had forgotten except they

(1) Bara is the woman in question. Yam, the wife of the chief is at the same time carrying on an affair with her husband's nephew. (Hogbin, *op. cit.*, 251.)

knew Sewang had asked for money, which in fact he had not. Then perhaps unfeelingly I refreshed their memories. They both tried to cut short the conversation then and there but I refused to let them go and pressed to know how they felt at hearing their kinsman spoken about in such terms. It was perfectly obvious that my mention of the words made them uncomfortable and I think that when the words were first spoken their humiliation must have been extreme. Both of them described how their "insides had been stirred up" but they were too ashamed to reply as their accusation against their kinsman was too well founded. Also if anything had been done an open breach with Dap would have resulted."⁽¹⁾

The necessity of doing something about a depression which we have seen as the psychological origin of war is also the psychological origin of *endotribal retaliation*, i. e., law.

Doketa, one of my main informants in Normanby Islands explained to me that they were different from the white people because their anger was never finished. After a quarrel is seemingly over even years after they will *barau* (the activity of black sorcery) each other. "The man will come like a good friend, we think it is all over. But he will *borauso* (poison) or *barau* the other man."

Two men, Keuya and Nimayababa quarrelled about a pig. Nimayababa's pig was caught in a pig net in the bush by Keuya. They ate it. Therefore Nimayababa brought the young men of Mayawa to make war on Keuya's people at Wegara. They captured some and demolished the house of Keuya. The others ran into the bush. Then after many years Nimayababa *baraud* Keuya. This is the way of the *barau* (wizard) and the *werabana* (witch), their anger never finishes.

This case shows the transition between endo-tribal punishment and war. Punitive law with the tribe is usually one village or horde or clan in action against the other and it is not always easy to draw the line between this and "international" or rather "inter-tribal" complications. In both cases the main thing is the the members of the group must re-identify themselves with their own super-ego by taking action against others. The super-ego keeps telling them that "see you are only a little, helpless chld (castrated); they can do that to you" and this has to be refuted to get back to a feeling of euphoria.

(1) Hogbin, H. I., "Social Reaction to Crime, Law and Morals in the Schouten Islands, New Guinea," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1938, XLVIII, Pgs. 232-234.

In the real wars of this area, that is, the cannibal raids from one village group to the other, or one island to the other, each party always regards itself as the aggrieved and is only redressing wrongs committed by the other.

Primitive society or rather society in general is based upon the *principle of reciprocity*. This reciprocity is originally a psychological factor but becomes a realistic economic or legal factor. We can also call it the principle of compensation. It is well brought out by the cases described above. An insult has to be committed to make a reparation necessary. Or a person compensates himself for a depression. Or a man pays for the love of his wife and child. Or as in Normanby Island and the Trobriands a compliment must immediately be returned in the form of a gift. Normanby Island culture equates riches and goodness (*esa-esa*); to be rich means to distribute, but the real point in giving a gift is to make the other party feel guilty and they are very much out for the counter-gift which allays the other party's feelings of guilt at the same time as it also ends their own feelings of deprivation and starts the cycle again and again. This is the *perpetuum mobile* which keeps society going.

"For his liberality a man receives a reward of honour, but beyond that he constantly looks for an equal return in kind. This is one of the striking features of primitive economics—the return of gift for gift, the maintaining of balance. The return may be made long subsequently but it may be called a matter of honour to equal or exceed the original gift; just as it is a matter of disgrace or lowered self-esteem to fail."⁽¹⁾ At Malekula "a wealthy man is one who possesses many boars with finely curved tusks and one or more yam houses filled with tubers. It is not, however, the mere possession of wealth which gives prestige; *it is rather its distribution*." Nevertheless, generosity as we interpret the word—the idea of a free gift—is alien to Malekulan culture. Whenever anyone presents another with any object it is always in the expectation of a return gift at some future date.⁽²⁾

To quote Powdermaker, "Underlying these social behaviour patterns of Lesu appear to be certain fundamental principles, the most outstanding of which is the principle of reciprocity. From the most elaborate economic transaction to the settlement of petty quarrels reciprocity is the dominant motif. Thus when Kaptan quarrelled with his wife's

(1) Williams, F. E., *Orokaiva Society*, 1930, 317.

(2) Deacon, A Bernard, *Malekula*, 1934, 199.

brother and received a blow on the chin from him it was suggested that if Kaptan be allowed to give his brother-in-law a similar blow the quarrel would be ended by an exchange of equal amounts of *tsera* (shell money). "Trading in which no profit occurs is also reciprocal in its action." "For anything there must be a recompense."⁽¹⁾ Society is based on reciprocity, hence, the so called dual organization of primitive society according to Malinowski: "The sociological manner in which the relations of reciprocity are arranged makes them yet more stringent." "Going over the relations and transactions previously described it is easy to see that the same principle of mutuality supplies the sanction for each rule. There is in every act a sociological dualism; two parties who exchange services and functions each watching over the measure of fulfilment and the fairness of conduct of the other."⁽²⁾ "The idea of requital like that of remuneration, appears to be one of the original reactions of mankind. When applied to wrong inflicted the result is the blood feud, and when applied to gifts the reaction takes the form of exchange or the development of trade."⁽³⁾ These principles which governed economic relationship and custom in general are also the basis of legal retribution.

"It was a religious duty of each clan to avenge summarily any wrong to its members." The word "retaliation" is more applicable to this system than that of punishment.⁽⁴⁾

The general sanction in Iceland was the giving of blood-money varying in amount according to the social status of the deceased and the payment was thought so completely to wipe out the deed that in one case the father of the slayer adopts the son of the slain.⁽⁵⁾ In the Code Hammurabi of Babylonia the idea of retaliation is carried out with grotesque precision. A man who has killed another by falling off a tree is himself put to death by exactly the same method; a relation of the deceased mounts the tree and in exactly the same way, descends upon the offender.⁽⁶⁾

Sumner writes: "The Eskimo have no civil organization outside of the family. All justice depends upon the immediate coercion of wrongdoers by force. Hence death often results. Retaliation is the sacred

(1) Powdermaker, H., *Life in Lesu*, 1933, pg. 322.

(2) Malinowski, B., *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, 1926, Pgs. 25, 26.

(3) R. Thurnwald, *Economics in Primitive Communities*, 1932, 141.

(4) Barnes, H., E., *The Story of Punishment*, 1930, 45.

(5) Diamond, A. S., *Primitive Law*, 1935, 148 (quoting Dasent, *The Story of Burnt Njal*, II, 59).

(6) Hobbhouse, L. T., *Morals in Evolution*, 1908, I, 85.

duty of every kinsman.. That the deceased was in the wrong is quite immaterial. Blood revenge was almost universal amongst the American Aborigines. In some tribes the stage had been reached where it was set aside by compensation."⁽¹⁾

Westermarck gives a penetrating psychological analysis of the whole situation: "But whilst public opinion demands that vengeance shall be exacted for injuries it is also operative in another way" . . . "As a matter of fact, we frequently find the practice of revenge being regulated by a rule which required equivalence between the injury and the suffering inflicted in return for it. Sometimes this rule demands that only one life shall be taken for one, sometimes that a death shall be avenged on a person of the same rank, sex or age of the deceased, sometimes that a murderer shall die in the same manner as his victim, sometimes that various kinds of injuries shall be retaliated by the infliction of similar injuries on the offender. This strict equivalence is not characteristic of vengeance as such."

"As Sir Thomas Browne observes, a revengeful mind holds no rule in retaliations requiring often a head for a tooth and the supreme revenge for trespasses which a night's rest should obliterate." "If then the rule of equivalence is not suggested by resentment itself, this rule must be due to other factors which intermingle with resentment and help, with it, to determine the action. One of these factors, I believe, is self-regarding pride, the desire to pull down the humiliating arrogance of the aggressor, naturally suggesting the idea of paying him back in his own coin; and it seems probable that the natural disposition to imitate, especially in cases of sudden anger, acts in the same direction."⁽²⁾

In these considerations Westermarck emphasizes the wounded pride of the person who has become a victim to aggression and the tendency to imitate the aggressor. In considering this same balancing trend in economic transactions we have found reason to believe that the psychological mechanism responsible for these phenomena is the interaction of super-ego and ego. A depression in one member of a group can not be tolerated by the others because it makes them feel guilty, hence they have to do something about it, i. e., give presents. In the act of giving presents the giver feels triumphant. The receiver is first happy with what he has and then guilty for having it; he will therefore now give it

(1) Sumner, W. G., *Folkways*, 1913, 501.

(2) Westermarck, Edward, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, 1906, I, Pgs. 177-179.

away to end his guilt and the state of deprivation and anger in the former giver. A similar mechanism is at work behind the blood-feud.

In order to understand the working of these forces in primitive aggression (crime) and retaliation we must re-consider some of the aspects of the super-ego. The curious thing about the super-ego is that it turns against the ego with increased severity both in victory and defeat. "It is remarkable," says Freud, "That the more we limit our own aggression the more the ego-ideal (super-ego) gains in aggression and severity. Ordinarily we look at these things the opposite way, that is, we regard the demands made by the ego-ideal as the reason for suppressing this aggression. Actually, however, things are the way we have described them: the more we control our aggressions the greater the aggression of the Ideal against the Ego. It is like a displacement, this turning against one's own Ego."⁽¹⁾

If the person who has suffered an aggression were not to retaliate he would be subject to the reproaches of his super-ego, i. e., he has to retaliate in order to avoid the state of melancholia. As soon as this has taken place, however, a corresponding tension is created in the party that was last to suffer the aggression (counter aggression) and so on ad infinitum.

The opposite side of this picture is that the super-ego reacts against the ego, also in every triumph or "gratification situation." Therefore, the homicide or the warrior has to undergo certain rites of an expiatory character after his victory and therefore the person who has received a gift has to make a counter-gift. Thus we see that both in war and crime plus punishment on the one hand, and in economic relations on the other, there is a strong tendency to balance things, to maintain an equilibrium.

Now this is evidently the same thing as the outstanding feature of our psychic apparatus, the tendency to eliminate disturbing factors, i. e., the pleasure principle.

Ives Hendrick writes:

"The induction of a fundamental property of life (the pleasure principle) derived from psychoanalytic observation, coincides with the ultimate conclusions of scientists in other fields. For example, the physiologist, Cannon, after a life of investigation of organic function, maintains that all bodily processes are devised to maintain a definite physico-chemical equilibrium which he calls *homeostasis*. The essence of Can-

⁽¹⁾ Freud, S., "Das Ich und Das Es," *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI, 1925, Pg. 400.

non's conclusions about homeostasis coincide remarkably with the significant statement of Freud's most speculative work, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, (1920). Their investigations have been in separate realms, yet their final conclusions in regard to the fundamental processes of life are the same: The psychoanalyst, that psychological processes are initiated by the need to restore an emotional equilibrium, the physiologist, that all organic processes are initiated by the need to restore a physico-chemical equilibrium which is expressed as health."⁽¹⁾

If we recognize this fundamental character of instincts, viz., that they aim at restoring a disturbed equilibrium, we must notice that society behaves like an individual or an organism.⁽²⁾

In essence, therefore, we must justify Herbert Spencer when he describes society as an organism.⁽³⁾ Yet this must be taken *cum grano salis*. There are analogies but also very obvious differences. We do not find in an organism an intrinsic effort to block pleasurable sensations and to counteract them by the opposite trend. Society, however, is based on the early introjection of the partly gratifying, partly frustrating parental *images*, and evolves through the dual unity situation and through the Oedipus situation. Hence we have an intrinsic tendency to thwart ourselves, i. e., a super-ego. The super-ego is derived from environment and naturally we tend to project it back into environment. Through an interaction of self-punitive super-ego tendencies with self-protective narcissism, the super-ego will find objects in the external world which it can punish vicariously.

Thus the fundamental structure of society seems to me an attempt to attain a manic phase by inducing a melancholia in others, only however to succumb to the same melancholia when the manic phase has been achieved.

Considering, moreover, that the basis of the whole process is the introjection of the parental images we must again confirm Herbert Spencer. *Parental Cooperation* is really the transition stage from organic to super-organic evolution.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Hendrick, Ives, *Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis*, 1939, 93, 94. Orr, Douglas W., "Is there a homeostatic instinct?" *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, XI, 1942, Pg. 329. (See the whole paper.)

(2) Cf. Cannon, W. B., *The Wisdom of the Body*, 1932, 293; 294.

(3) Spencer, Herbert, *The Principles of Sociology*, I, 1906, 437, cf. Malinowski in his introduction to Hogbin, H. I., *Law and Order in Polynesia*, 1934, p. XXXVII.

(4) Spencer, Herbert, *The Principles of Sociology*, I, 1906, Pg. 4.

3. Sacrilege

A. SACRILEGE AND INCEST

In-group aggression is frequent in primitive societies but criminal offences are of rare occurrence.

In Australia the community as such acts in two situations against the offender—if it is a ceremonial offence or incest.

If an Aranda does not cut himself with sufficient intensity after the death of his father-in-law and one of his own group (that is, another "son-in-law") sees this, he takes the man's wife into the bush and has intercourse with her. Then he tells her, "Now go and tell your husband." When telling him what happened she rubs herself against her husband and he *gets wild*. The man knows that the husband will fight. The man's name was Illaparinja in the case related to me and besides not cutting himself he was also accused of keeping the *kururkna*⁽¹⁾ too long. They knelt opposite each other and each cut the other on the shoulder with the knife.

The one brother-in-law who here challenges the other is acting both as representing himself and as the representative of a group. Another case of sacrilege is showing the *tjurunga* to the women. The penalty is death and we have the same penalty in the case of a woman coming within sight of the sacred ceremonies. Since the Mission had been established at Hermannsburg there was one case on record when the tribes of the western desert had come to attack the Mission because they had heard that the Christian natives had shown the sacred *tjurunga* to the women.

The same taboo obtains on the whole continent. The point that interests us here however is the *illicit* use of the *tjurunga*. In the Kimberley district according to Phyllis M. Kaberry, illicit use is sometimes made of the *tjurunga* by the men. A man of the Wolmeri showed one to his tribal mother-in-law, saying, "Suppose you no come alonga me, me kill you." The woman was terrified and submitted to his wishes. The Djaru admitted that men sometimes used the *tjurunga* to compel women to have intercourse. If such a thing is discovered the punishment is death.⁽²⁾

Officially the women do not know that the *tjurunga* or their equi-

(1) The sacred girdle made of the dead man's hair and containing the essence of the dead man's soul. Cf. Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, (1927), II, 405.

(2) Phyllis M. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman*, (1939), p. 231.

valents in other tribes exist. However, they really do know only, of course, they have no accurate or detailed knowledge. The dreams of Urkalarkiraka, an old woman of the Aranda tribe, reveal quite clearly the significance of "showing the tjurunga."⁽¹⁾

Dream No. 4: "I was going to Oodnadatta and I slept on the way. A man came with a *wallupanpa* (string decoration) and with a tjurunga in his hand. He came near but when he saw that I was awake he went away."

The word "tjurunga" which she is not supposed to know she pronounces in a low whisper. She simply trembles with emotion and pleasure when she speaks of the approach of the handsome man.

Associations: A young man in the native camp, her former husband, her former husband's white employer. The man who approaches wants to rape her. If this were real life the tjurunga is the last thing in the world he would have in his hand at such a time. But as I have shown in several publications a tjurunga is the symbol of a penis, and from this point of view the meaning of the dream is evident.

Dream No. 5: "I was seated before my wurley and to the right was a group of men rubbing their tjurungas with red ochre. I pretended not to look but I saw what they were doing."

In real life she could never have seen this. But what she could have seen as a child was parental intercourse and here she was supposed not to look, i. e., to pretend to be asleep.

In my book on *The Riddle of the Sphinx* I demonstrated that what the men are showing to the young men in the ritual is a primal scene. Women are rigorously excluded from the ceremony. Previously, however, I could show a regressive series in these rites from the genital to the narcissistic level, rites in which both sexes participate and which end with coitus and rites from which the women are excluded which start with masturbation.⁽²⁾ It is obvious that the latent meaning of the ritual is exhibitionism as a form of love magic and what has to be prevented is the breaking through of this latent meaning, the return of the repressed. The small bull-roarer or *namatuna* is used both to drive the women away and to attract them as a love charm.

We have quoted Phyllis Kaberry above about the men using the tjurunga, i. e., a symbolic penis, as a form of love magic. The women,

⁽¹⁾ Quoted from my field notes.

⁽²⁾ Cf. Róheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, 1934, Chapter II, and Róheim, "Totemic Ritual". *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*. XIII. 57.

on the other hand, will compel a man to have intercourse with them simply by going to his camp when they are menstruating.⁽¹⁾ The man shows a symbolic penis, the woman a real (but anxiety cathected) vagina.

Society acts when the repressions and sublimations are threatened by a return of the repressed, when women are present at the phallic rites or when the symbolic phallos is shown to the women.

The other "criminal" offense⁽²⁾ from an Australian point of view is incest. In a paper on this subject I have described how group retribution develops in these cases. If one of the local chiefs is a great *tna-puta* (fornicator) and very strong both physically and in magic he may be able to carry out incest even with his own daughters for a time. The old men "growl" and the "growling" (i. e., angry disapproval) increases from camp to camp till a group of warriors finally kills him. In other cases society first shows its disapproval by refusing to have anything to do with him. Sooner or later however the men catch him and kill him. No burial ceremonies were held; they simply threw the body away. In another instance they pretend they are holding a totemic ceremony and when the culprit joins them they kill him.

In these cases again the significance of the retribution is perfectly clear. They kill those who have done what they themselves would like to do. According to Sophocles the land of Thebes suffered from blight, from pestilence and from the sterility of both men and cattle under the reign of Oedipus. The Delphic oracle declared that the only way to restore the prosperity of the country was to banish the sinner because his mere presence withered plants, animals, and women.⁽³⁾

Why should the incest and parricide of Oedipus be visited on all the inhabitants of Thebes? They are all guilty of the same crime in their unconscious; if they banish the sinner they disclaim the guilt and repeat the endo-psychical act of repression. In the data collected by Frazer we see a striking uniformity in the nature of the punishment. No children in the country of incest and from human fertility this is displaced to animal and plant fertility. Munster was afflicted with a failure of crops and other misfortunes. These calamities were due to the incest the king had committed with his sister. So the king's sons, the

(1) Kaberry, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

(2) Cf. Róheim, "The Primal Horde and Incest in Central Australia," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, III, 454-60.

(3) Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 22 9, 95 9. Frazer, *Magic Art* (1911), II, 115.

fruits of this union, were to be consumed by fire and the ashes cast into a running stream.⁽¹⁾ In clinical analysis one often finds that one of the reasons why fathers *in spe* do not want their children to be born is the idea that the child is undeniable evidence of intercourse. No progeny in a place where incest is possible and where the others by not killing the culprit share in his guilt— is one form of repressing the Oedipus complex. The Basoga held even incest among domestic animals in great abhorrence. In such cases the bull and the cow were sent to a fetish tree and tied there. The next morning the chief of the district took the animals.⁽²⁾ Among the Bavili of Loango if a man marries a woman of his own maternal clan Nzambi will withhold the rain.⁽³⁾ Among the Macassars and Buginese of Southern Celebes, incest is a capital crime. In the Buginese language the misdeed is called *sapa-tana* which means that the ground (*tana*) has been polluted with the blood of such a person and must now be shunned (*sapa*). "When the rivers dry up and the supply of fish runs short, when the harvest and the produce of the gardens miscarry, when edible fruits fail and when sickness is rife among the cattle and horses, and in general when the country suffers from any kind of calamity they think that earth and air have been polluted by the blood of people who have committed incest. Their blood should not be shed and therefore they are tied up in a sack and thrown into the sea."⁽⁴⁾ Every calamity must be due to incest because this is everybody's crime and to spill the blood (semen) on mother earth would be a repetition of the crime. Among the Tolalaki in Central Celebes persons who have defiled themselves with incest are shut up in a basket and drowned. No drop of their blood should be spilt on the ground for that would hinder the earth from bearing fruit again.⁽⁵⁾ The drop of blood is the semen and the fruit is the child born of incest. When it rains in torrents the Galelareese of Halmahera say that brother and sister or father and daughter have had illicit relations and that *every human being should be informed of it* (my italics) for then only will the rain cease to descend.⁽⁶⁾ The point is that every human being has to be informed so that they

(1) Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, 116.

(2) H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902), II, 718.

(3) R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (1906) p. 52.

(4) B. F. Matthes, "Over de adas of gewoonten der Makassaren en Boeginezen," *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1885, II, 182, quoted by Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, 110.

(5) Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, 411 (quoting Kruijt).

(6) Frazer, *op. cit.*, II, 111, quoting Baarda, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1895, 414.

can show proper horror and disclaim any complicity. In a group of Indonesian myths discussed by Perry heavy rainfall and a flood are caused either by *imitating animals* or by *incest*.⁽¹⁾ As I have shown in a book in 1934 the sin of the person in the folk tale is really the breach of the two cardinal taboos of totemism or of the Oedipus complex. Imitating the animal means replacing father and incest means intercourse with mother.⁽²⁾ "Laughing at the animal" is a variation of the motive, "imitating the animal," with the emphasis on the hostility in imitation. In a simplified form we have the same thing in a Tontemboan story. *A child refused to obey its parents*; it was made to sink into a stone and during the process it rained heavily⁽³⁾ (flood). Following the general psychological rule of ambivalence, incest may either cause a drought or a heavy rainfall. Before the rice is planted, generally before the fields are prepared, the Toradja perform a ceremony called *maandu sala*, "the cleansing from sin." *By sin they mean more especially incest*. This offence has as a consequence that a drought comes or heavy rain falls.⁽⁴⁾

If, as we have surmised above the cessation of fertility or child-birth means the *super-ego aspect of the incest situation in which the proofs of guilt are eliminated*, the heavy downfall of rain might be interpreted as the *libidinal or Id aspect of the same with the rain representing semen and a storm or flood a superlative of wish-fulfillment*. The same Toradjas believe that it is always in their power to enrage the gods by committing incest and so to procure rain when it is needed. But they don't perpetrate the crime themselves, first because it would be necessary to put the culprits to death, and then because the gods would be too furious and the storm too great. But they procure rain by representing incest. They kill a cock and a little sow and place the two in intimate embrace.⁽⁵⁾ The cock probably represents the son and the sow the mother. In a study on the High God of the Andaman Islanders I have shown that the cardinal offences of these

(1) W. J. Perry, *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* (1918), 124-34.

(2) G. Róheim, *Primitive High Gods* (1934), 25.

(3) Perry, *op. cit.*, 125.

(4) Kruijt and Adriani, *De Bare sprekende Toradja's*. s'Gravenhage 1912-14, II, 246 (Perry, *op. cit.*, 131.)

(5) J. G. Razer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (1911, II, 113, quoting A. C. Kruijt, "Regen lokken en regen verdrijven bij den Toradja's van Midden Celebes." *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde*, XLN (1901), 4.

tribes are identical with the crime of Oedipus.⁽¹⁾ The principal offences from the Andamanese point of view are: 1. Burning or melting bees'-wax; 2. Killing a cicada, or making a noise, particularly a noise of cutting or banging wood, during the time that the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening; 3. The use of certain articles of food of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea*, etc.⁽²⁾ All these crimes are visited by Puluga's anger in the form of a storm or heavy rainfall. The Semang Karei corresponds to the Puluga of the Andamanese. Schebesta asked them what were the offences for which Karei punishes mankind. This was their answer: sexual offences of a brother and sister, of parents with their own children; non-observance of the rules of avoidance regarding the parents-in-law; disrespectful behavior to parents and others. If somebody offends in these respects Karei's thunder is heard and he must be pacified by the blood sacrifice.

In the case of civil offences the others identify with the aggrieved person and get rid of a depression by extroverted aggression. When the community punishes incest it is safeguarding its own repression because these repressions are threatened by identification with the criminal.

Homicide is usually an inter-clan affair redressed by the blood feud. However, if the tribe really becomes the "sympathy group" the situation is different.

"The killing of one Cheyenne by another was a sin which bloodied the Sacred Arrows, endangering thereby the well-being of the people."

"Fear of the super-natural consequences and the resultant efforts of the Cheyenne community to purify itself from the strain of Cheyenne blood on Cheyenne lands are most probably what brought homicide under the public law. Killing became a crime, its criminal aspect then came to dwarf its aspect as sin, though by no means to displace the latter; and the criminal aspect had in law gone far to displace the private wrong concerned; homicide had ceased to be legally a matter for blood revenge."

(1) Róheim, *Primitive High Gods* (1934). Cf. Ivor H. V. Evans, *The Negritos of Malaya*. 1937. 170-184.

(2) A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (1922), 152.

(3) P. P. Schebesta, "Über die Semang auf Malakka", *Anthropos*, XVIII, XIX, 1904.

The communal danger was evidently based on the unconscious identification of murder with "body destruction." But "body destruction" means the disappearance of the nourishing mother.

"When the murder had been done a pall fell over the Cheyenne tribe. There could be no success in war; there would be no bountifulness in available food. Game shunned the territory, it made the tribe lonesome."

"There is thus a branding synonym for murder in Cheyenne, *puirid*. Such was the murderer's stigma. With murder a man began his *internal corruption*, a disintegration of his bodily self which perhaps contrition could stay, but never cure. About the killer clung the murderer's smell, an evil mantle eternally noisome to fellow men and the sought after animal denizens of the plains."⁽¹⁾ Smell and disintegration mean the identification of the murderer with the corpse—and in the lustration ceremony the identification of all Cheyennes with both.

B. THE SIN OF SEPARATION

Eskimo taboos and in-group aggression are closely connected. In the mountains of Alaska on the upper Kuouk and Noatak rivers and on the headwaters of the Colville we find extensive prohibitions on eating the flesh of the mountain sheep. After a woman has had her first child she might eat certain ribs, after her second child still others, and only after five children could she eat all the ribs. If her child were sick she must not eat certain ribs and if two of her children were sick she must not eat certain other ribs. If her brother's child were sick she might not eat certain portions and if her brother's wife died there were still different prohibitions. The taboos applying to the ribs of the sheep had relations to the health of her children and her relations.⁽²⁾

How can eating a sheep's rib be identified with the health or sickness of a child? Only if we reckon with oral aggression. That is the child and the sheep's rib are symbolically identified. This accounts for the surprising concern shown in connection with a simple

(1) K. N. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*. Conflict and Case Law in Primitive Jurisprudence, 1941, p. 133.

(2) V. Stefansson, *My Life With the Eskimo* (1913), 410, 411. For a previous discussion of the same theme G. Róheim, "Die Sedna Sage," *Imago* X, 159-177.

meal. "When people of different districts met at a meal someone, perhaps the hostess, would recite all the taboos which she knew which were appropriate to that meal, and then would ask one of her guests whether he knew any in addition. He would then contribute such as his hostess had omitted, then a second guest would be appealed to and when all the taboos which all those present knew of had been clearly called to mind the meal would go on. Then the next day if one of them had a headache or if the cousin of the other had broken a leg they would say to one another, "What taboo could it have been that we broke?" Some wise old man's advice would be called upon and he would be told of all the taboos which they observed and then he would say, "How did you break your marrow bone?" Some one would volunteer, "I broke mine with a stone." "Yes, and which hand did you hold the stone in when you broke it?" "My right hand." "Ah, yes, that explains it; you should have held the stone in your left hand. This is why your cousin's leg got broken. You broke the marrow-bone the wrong way."⁽¹⁾

The broken marrow-bone is the cousin's broken leg. Most of the Eskimo tribes obtain a large part of their food from the sea, i.e., by killing sea-animals. Like humans these sea animals have a mother; most Eskimo tribes call her Sedna; the Greenlanders call her "Nerrivik," i.e., the "Food Dish." The first time a man goes out to sea after having buried a dead person he is regarded as unclean; animals will make themselves invisible to him. So before he starts out he must call upon "Nerrivik," a woman at the bottom of the sea who rules over all sea creatures.

"Drive walruses toward me
Thou, Food Dish, down there
Below the ice!
Send me gifts!"⁽²⁾

Sedna, the mother of sea-mammals, is the principal deity of the Central Eskimo. She has supreme sway over the destinies of mankind and almost all the observances of these tribes are for the purpose of retaining her good will or of propitiating her if she has been offended. She is believed to live in a lower world in a house built of stone

(1) V. Stefansson, *op. cit.*, 411.

(2) Knud Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North* 11908, 143.

and whale-ribs. The souls of seals, ground seals, and whales are believed to proceed from her house. After one of these animals has been killed, its soul stays with the body for three days. Then it goes back to Sedna's abode, to be sent forth again by her. If during the three days that the soul stays with the body, any taboo or prescribed custom is violated, the "violation" ("pitsse'te,") becomes attached to the animal's soul and causes it pain. The soul strives in vain to free itself of these attachments but is compelled to take them down to Sedna. The attachments, in some manner not explained, make her hands sore and she punishes the people who are the cause of her pains by sending to them sickness, bad weather, and starvation. If on the other hand all taboos have been observed the sea animals will allow themselves to be caught, they will even come to meet the hunter. The object of the innumerable taboos that are in force after the killing of these sea-animals, therefore, is to keep their souls free from attachments that would hurt their souls as well as Sedna.⁽¹⁾

Now all this is rather difficult to understand. The violation of a taboo "materializes" and becomes an "attachment," something that clings to the body of the sea animals and therefore also to the body of Sedna, the mother of all sea animals, especially to her hands and fingers; this feature is explained by the myth of Sedna.

A man whose wife had been dead for a long time lived with his daughter Sedna. She refused all suitors until finally the fulmar (a bird) wooed her with his enticing song. But she was unhappy in birdland and yearned for her father. He came, killed the husband and took his daughter home in his boat. But the birds stirred up a heavy storm which threatened the pair with destruction. In this mortal peril the father determined to offer Sedna to the birds and flung her overboard. She clung to the edge of the boat with a death grip. The cruel father then took a knife and cut off the first joints of her fingers. Falling into the sea they were transformed into whales, the nails turning into whale bone. Sedna holding on to the boat more tightly, the second finger joints fell under the sharp knife and swam away as seals, and when the father cut off the stumps of her fingers they became ground seals. The storm subsided because the birds thought that Sedna was drowned. The father then took her back into the boat. But after they had got ashore Sedna called her dogs and when her father was asleep she let them gnaw off his feet

(1) F. Boas, *Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, 1901. Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, XV, pp. 119, 120.

and hands. The father awoke, cursed himself, his daughter, and the dogs which had maimed him. The earth opened and swallowed them all. There they live forever in the land of Adlivan (other-world) of which Sedna is mistress.⁽¹⁾ A Smith Sound version of the story begins by saying that a girl was eating all her parents and relations. Her father takes her out to the sea and he cuts her fingers off because she refuses all suitors.⁽²⁾

We see therefore that:

1. Certain taboos are in force after the death of sea animals.
2. The violations of these taboos are materialized in the shape of certain beings that cling to Sedna and make her fingers sore.
3. The sore fingers are explained by a reference to the myth in which Sedna's finger joints are cut off by her father.

But we do not know the nature of these taboos. It is forbidden after the death of one of the sea animals that originated from Sedna's fingers, or after the death of a person, to scrape the frost from the window, to shake the beds or to disturb the shrubs under the bed, to remove oil-drippings from under the lamp, to scrape hair from skins, to cut snow for the purpose of melting it, to work on iron, wood, stone or ivory. Furthermore women are forbidden to comb their hair, to wash their faces and to dry their boots and stockings.⁽³⁾

All these taboos refer to cuttings, cleavings, separations. They are valid at a time when the soul of a human being or a sea animal is about to be separated from the body and look like analogies to the mythical episodes of Sedna's cut fingers. The taboo is on separation but when this taboo is violated and the separation takes place, this separation becomes a cleaving, an attachment in another sphere, in the sub-aquatic realm of the goddess.

But it seems that the transgression materializes also in the form of something attached to the transgressor. A vapor visible only to the sea-beings and the medicine man attaches itself to the soul of the evil doer. The *angakok* (shaman) is able to see these attachments with the aid of

(1) F. Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, VI, Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, 1888, 564. Cf. also Rink-Boas, "Eskimo Tales and Songs," *Journal of American Folklore*, II, 127. L. M. Turner, *Ethnology of the Ungava District*, XI, Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology. F. Boas, *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History XV, 163-65. F. Boas, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der zentralen Eskimo," *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1887, 302. F. Boas, *The Eskimo*, Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada, 1887, Section II, 55. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, 1908, 152.

(2) Kroeber, "Tales of the Smith Sound Eskimo," *Journ. Am. Folk Lore*, XII, 179.

(3) Boas, *Baffin Land*, 121.

his guardian spirits and if he does not free the soul from them that person must die. In many cases the transgressions become fastened also to persons who come in contact with the evil-doer. This is especially true of children to whose souls the sins of their parents and particularly of their mothers become readily attached. Therefore when a child is sick, the *angakok*, first of all, asks its mother whether she has transgressed any taboos. The attachment seems to have a different appearance according to the taboo that has been violated. A black attachment is due to removing oil drippings from under a lamp, a piece of caribou skin represents the scrapings removed from a caribou skin at a time when working was forbidden. As soon as the mother acknowledges the transgression of a taboo the attachment leaves the child's soul and the child recovers. A woman who has a new-born child and who has not quite recovered must eat only of seals caught by her husband, by a boy, or by an aged man; else the vapor arising from her body would become attached to the souls of other seals, which would take the transgression down to Sedna, thus making her hands sore. Cases of premature birth require particularly careful treatment. The event must be announced publicly lest dire results should follow. If a woman should conceal from the other people that she has had a premature birth, they might come near her or even eat in her hut of the seals procured by her husband. The transgression would also become attached to the soul of the seal which would take it down to Sedna. The stories given by Boas to explain this point show clearly that to have a premature birth is in itself a transgression of very great importance.

Naxojassi had caught a seal. Kunu, his daughter-in-law, ate of it, although she had had a premature birth, of which, however, she had not spoken to any one. This transgression was fastened to the soul of the seal and Naxojassi's soul was lost in consequence. When the *angakok* accused her of her transgression, Kunu protested her innocence and maintained she had never had a premature birth. Her father could not make her confess but finally she confessed to her sister and mother. Naxojassi had died in the meantime and Kunu's husband divorced himself from her for fear that she might repeat her offence. In the other stories starvation always ensues when a woman refuses to confess that she has had a premature birth even if the child was ever so small and after confession Sedna's favor is regained and food becomes plentiful. Women who have had premature births go to Sedna's abode.⁽¹⁾

(1) Boas, *Baffin Land*, pp. 124-30.

A famine which prevailed in 1883 was believed to have been brought about by a woman who did not announce her miscarriage and continued to eat seal-meat. It was not till after the woman herself died that Nuliajok (another name of Sedna) relented. No work must be done for three days after a bear or ground seal has been killed. The women must not comb their hair. The bedding must not be disturbed, frost must not be removed from the window, etc. Women who have lost a relative must not work on fresh skins. They must not cut the hair off from seal-skins.⁽¹⁾

The transgression is always cutting something off, separating something. But what has this to do with premature births, with the special tendency of children to suffer from the transgressions of their mothers and with the curious way in which a separation becomes an aggregation, a cleaving, an attachment?

That the solution of the riddle lies in the infantile sphere is quite evident. For instance, no work on seals caught in winter during the walrus hunting season must be done until the seals have pups.⁽²⁾ Now we may ask what is a premature birth? Obviously it is the premature separation of a child from its mother. This feature of premature separation also holds good for the soul separated from the body, for the part cut from the whole, or in the myth, for the daughter who clutches the boat and is then separated from her father by violence. We remember Hermann's view on the importance of the infant's grasping reflex, on the adhesive aspect of the libido. In this clutching there is an element of love and an element of aggression, of sadism.⁽³⁾ But from the point of view of the infant the reaction of the mother to this violent clutching, her pushing away, certainly appears as a wicked aggression. This is why a premature birth is a transgression, a mother has ejected her child from the safety given by the womb. If snow is scraped off the window after the death of a seal or a human being this means the violent separation of the soul from the body, of the helpless child from the mother. In order to explain the structure of the whole edifice we have but to refer to another well-known psychological attitude. This is *identification* either of a human being with other human beings, or with phantasy-equivalents of other human beings in environment. We have not far to go to find the origin of identification. It lies in identity, in the intimate physical con-

(1) Boas, *Baffin Land*, 147, 148.

(2) Boas, *op. cit.*, 148.

(3) J. Hermann, "Sich-Anklammern Auf Suche Gehen," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, XXII, 365.

nection of the embryo in the womb with the mother. Even the unweaned child is influenced physically by the physical processes which take place in the mother and the psychical influence naturally continues to survive in later life, or to put it the way the Eskimo put it, the child is affected by the transgressions of the mother. The helpless soul of the dead is somewhat in the relation of a child to the surviving members of the tribe, and it is wicked to separate a child from its mother.

III "The souls of the dead do not wish to come back to the houses but they are compelled to do so on account of the weight of the sins of their survivors, that press them down. They come to have the sins cut away so that they may go to the land of the souls. When a soul has not been disturbed by the sins for a long time it feels light and well."⁽¹⁾ A fuller version of the same belief will help us to understand the situation.

"The souls of the deceased stay with the body for three days. If a taboo is violated during this time (i. e., if something is separated) the transgression becomes attached to the soul of the deceased. The weight of the transgression causes the soul pain and it roams about the village, endeavoring to free itself of its burden. The medicine men go in search of it and as soon as they find it they stab it with their knives and thus cut off the transgressions. Then the *tupilak* becomes a soul again."⁽²⁾

Something is separated, it then forms an aggressive attachment, whereupon it has to be separated once more. Exactly the same thing takes place in the cluster of beliefs connected with Sedna. Transgressions are "cuttings," "separations," and as such they are essentially aggressive. Therefore the "attachments" which follow must also be of an aggressive type; the aggression is carried over into the new attachment, or aggregation, or grasping. But the sea beings which emerge from the water like a child coming out of the womb, have also a mother, a great supernatural projection of human mothers. If human mothers refuse to let their infants cling to them, if they refuse to nourish them, these still-born beings will all cling to their great supernatural mother and cause her pain, thus revealing the sadistic element involved in the grasping. For according to one of our first informants on the subject we are told that the sins of mankind clinging to the Mother of the Sea Animals are the stillborn children which hang from her head like serpents from the head of the Medusa.⁽³⁾ She retaliates with the same measure that causes

(1) Boas, *Baffin Land*, 487.

(2) Boas, *Baffin Land*, 131.

(3) P. Egede, *Nachrichten von Grönland*, (1790), 130. Cf. H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (1875), 40. Holm, *Ethnological Sketch of the Angmassalik Eskimo*. Meddelelser, XXIX, 83.

her pain, by withholding (attachment, clutching) her children, the food animals of mankind. And thus for the sins of mothers who let their children starve (miscarriage), mankind suffers the pangs of starvation. And if we regard Sedna as the colossal projection of "bad" human mothers the myth also tells us why mothers are bad. Sedna becomes the dangerous mother of sea animals because her fingers which clutched the boat were chopped off by her father, i. e., because the father prevents the daughter from clinging to the mother (symbolized by the boat) for an indefinite period. Children have to be weaned and hence they pass this trauma on to their progeny.

The transgression consisted in a "cutting;" what is the remedy? The medicine man pays a visit to the mother of sea animals to induce her to release her children.

"I know not what ceremonies he performs at the first part of the interview but as the spell by which the animals are held lies in the hand of the enchantress the conjuror makes some bold attempts to cut it off and according to his success, plenty, more or less is obtained. If deprived of her nails the bears obtain their freedom, amputation of the first joint liberates the *netsiq* (Pagomys); while that of the second loosens the *ugjuq* (Phoca). Should the knuckles be detached whole herds of walrus rise to the surface and should the adventurous *angakok* succeed in cutting through the lower part of the metacarpal bones the monstrous whales are disenthralled and join the other creatures of the deep.⁽¹⁾ According to Crantz and Rink she sits in her dwelling in front of a lamp beneath which is placed a vessel which receives the oil that keeps flowing down from the lamp. From this vessel as well as from the dark interior of the hut she sends out all the animals which serve for food or she withholds the supply because "Certain filthy and noxious parasites fastened themselves upon her head."⁽²⁾ Her hands are the size of the fins of a whale, and if she hits the *angakok* he certainly dies. According to some informants she goes wild with rage, foams at the mouth and tears her hair when the *angakok* arrives. He must fight her and then he can louse and comb her (cf. "grooming") and thereby he has accomplished the aim of his journey.⁽³⁾

In this system of transgressions and atonements sin or anxiety is equivalent to separation. But as the cutting is also atoned for by a "cut-

(1) Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 585.

(2) F. Nansen, *Eskimoleben* (1903), 221, 222.

(3) Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, 586.

ting," a separation, we see that the aggression-anxiety quality is also carried over from the separation to the grasping⁽¹⁾ in this connection seems to be confirmed by the opposite idea in the religion of the Chukchee. They have a sea-being and his wife of a corresponding order who are clad in long loose white garments and the worshippers of these beings wear the same attire at their festival.⁽²⁾

But why should confession annul guilt? For one thing because by confessing, the mother, guilty of having ejected her child, separates herself from the rest of the people. She is the culprit, if she dies the mother under the sea is appeased. But here again, by this separation she saves the community, she shows some sort of social feeling, and therefore confession is both a separation of the guilty from the innocent and an aggregation of the culprit to the confessor, i. e., to society in general. The bond that unites mother and child is the basis of all social bonds and the Eskimo of Ponds Bay when they discuss the practices of other tribes, people who kill each other and practice cannibalism, usually remark, "No wonder that these people are bad because they do not believe in Sedna."⁽³⁾ In the case of incest the key to social reaction is identification with the culprit; here however, as in the cases of civil offences, society identifies itself with the victim.

But why should confession annul the guilt? For one thing because by confessing, the mother, guilty of having ejected her child, separates herself from the rest of the people. She is the culprit, if she dies the mother under the sea is appeased. But here again, by this separation she saves the community, she shows some sort of social feeling, and therefore confession is both a separation of the guilty from the innocent and an aggregation of the culprit to the confessor,

Infant and mother form a unity, the mother for the infant means the world at large. Happiness or unhappiness, satisfaction and anxiety depend in this world on the behavior of the mother. But the infant does not perceive this causation. It feels well when it is in possession of the mother and therefore to be good (or well) means to be in harmony with the world at large. *Thus the belief that by being "good" we can influence the world at large is a survival of the infantile phase of magical omnipotence.*

(1) Cf. Hermann, "Sich-Anklamern Auf Suchs Gehen" *International Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* XXII.

(2) W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*. Jesup North Pacific Expedition VII, 1907, II, Religion, p. 317.

(3) Boas, *Baffin Land*, 482.

"Deep-rooted in man's heart is the pathetic conviction that moral goodness and material prosperity go together, that if man keep the *rita*⁽¹⁾ he can magically affect for good natures ordered going." Hesiod cherishes the same conviction:

"Whoso to stranger and to kinsman deal
Straight judgments, ne'er o'er-passing Justice' bounds
Their city flowers and their folk blossometh
And in their land is Peace, the Nurse of children."⁽²⁾

To be good means to be in harmony with Themis, the Mother who stands for custom with Sedna, the Mother of Sea Animals. The introduction of a "bad mother" or the sadistic element in clutchings and separations is disharmony, something bad that has to be eliminated. The baby reacts by crying, adult mankind by ritual and social institutions.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

(1) Vedic word for right.

(2) J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, 531.



Latin American News and Comments

by S. B. KUTASH

The Argentine Psychoanalytic Association which is affiliated with the International Psychoanalytical Association has begun publication of its official organ, "Revista de Psicoanalysis". The first issue, which was just received, contains four vital psychoanalytic articles, two of which are original contributions and two of which are translated from English. The first article by Celes Ernesto Carcano of Argentina is entitled, "The Feathered Serpent", and deals with a psychoanalytic interpretation of the Mayan-Aztec religion and human sacrifice. An article by Dr. Angel Garma of Buenos Aires called the "Psychoanalytic Method of Dream Interpretation" constitutes an introduction to dream psychology and is richly illustrated by color photographs. Dr. Franz Alexander is represented by his keen paper, "Psychological Aspects of Medicine" and Melanie Klein by "Primary Stages of the Oedipus Complex and the Formation of the Superego".

The book review section contains critical reviews of current works including Garma's Monograph on Psychoanalysis, Pschygenic Factors in Bronchial Asthma by French and Alexander, Manual of Psychotherapy by Mira y Lopez, A History of Medical Psychology by Gregory Zilboorg, and Relativity of Reality by Rene La Forge. There are fourteen abstracts of the current literature drawn from Spanish American, North American, British, and French journals. Among the periodicals from the United States which are covered are the *Psychoanalytic Review*, the *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, the *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, and the *American Imago*. The issue also contains interesting news notes and congratulatory messages from Dr. Ernest Jones, President of the International Psychoanalytic Association and Dr. Karl Menninger, President of the North American Psychoanalytic Association.

To the cordial messages already received by the editors of this new journal, this column adds its felicitations. Judging from the first issue a worthy addition to the roster of important psychiatric journals has been born. American psychiatrists and psychoanalysts will have an additional source by which they can keep in touch with foreign

progress in their sciences especially in the countries of South America. This helps fill the void of foreign literature created by the war and the dearth of available material from Europe.

The Third Annual Congress of Pan-American Neuro-Psychiatrists was held at Buenos Aires, Argentina from November 7th to 13th, 1943. Participating in the convention were most of the well-known neurologists, psychiatrists, and medico-legal experts of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. A number of representatives from the United States were present. The presiding officer was Dr. Nerio Rojas, eminent authority on legal medicine of Argentina and Editor of the *Archivos de Medicina Legal*.

The official topics around which the conference was organized were: (1) The Concept of the Abnormal Personality; (2) Acute Encephalitis; (3) The Appetite: its Psychopathological and Legal Medical Aspects; (4) The Neuropsychiatry of the American Infectious Diseases; (5) Pre-Senile Psychosis; (6) Latest Opinions on Schizophrenia and its Medico-Legal Aspects. Papers were presented contributing to the existing knowledge around each of the announced themes of the conference as well as on other topics of neuropsychiatric interest.

Among the important papers of interest to criminal psychopathology were the following: "Suicide, Criminality, and Legal Responsibility" by Dr. Otto Klieneberger; "The Importance of Psychiatric and Anthropological Study of the Personality Make-Up of the Delinquent" by Dr. G. Uribe Cualla; "Juvenile Homo-Sexuality" by Dr. Juan Garafalic. Dr. Adolf Meyer presented a paper entitled, "The Close Relationship Between the 'Principles of Biological Psychology' by Jose Ingenieros and My 'Ergasiological Conceptions' in North American Psychiatry". Drs. Honorio Delagado of Peru and Osvaldo Loudet of Argentina were the principal speakers on the "Concept of the Abnormal Personality." The Congress expressed the hope that a more active role would be played in future conventions after the war by psychiatrists and psychopathologists from North America particularly the United States.

Dr. Angel Garma of Argentina has just published an interesting volume, entitled "Sadism and Masochism in Human Conduct". We hope to review this book in a later issue of the *Journal*.

It will be of interest to our readers to learn that numerous books and articles by authors from the United States are translated and published in Spanish in the Latin American countries. Some of the more recent publications include, "Psychogenic Factors in Bronchial Asthma" by *Th. French* and *Franz Alexander*, "The Discovery of the Oedipus Complex" by *Gregory Zilboorg*, and "Work as Sublimation" by *Karl Menninger*. Many of the articles of the *Journal* are now abstracted in Latin American publications such as "Archivos de Medicina Legal" and the "Revista de Psicoanalysis".

Dr. Jose Belbey, Professor of Legal Medicine at the University of La Plata, who is also connected with the University of Buenos Aires, has sent us his latest article, "Society and Crime" for translation in a future issue of the *Journal*.

A two year post-graduate course in legal medicine has been created by the Faculty of Medicine at the University of La Plata, Buenos Aires, Argentina for those physicians who wish to become specialists in this field. The course will be under the direction of Professor Jose Belbey and includes lectures, seminars and actual clinical work. During the first year, the curriculum includes legal medicine, clinical psychiatry, medico-legal toxicology, legal medicine and occupational diseases. The second year encompasses forensic psychiatry, criminology and principles of penal law, medico-legal autopsy, and medico-legal aspects of workmans compensation. Those completing the course receive a specialist's diploma.

SECOND OPEN LETTER FROM ARGENTINA

Dr. Josè Belbey*

My dear Dr Branham:

It gives me great pleasure to renew my correspondence with you and the readers of your splendid "Journal of Criminal Psychopathology", giving you the latest developments related to its subject matter.

I—*New Penal Colony in Fuerte General Roca,
(Rio Negro, Argentine Republic)*

On the 18th of December of 1943 a new Penal Colony was inaugurated in the locality of Fuerte General Roca, in the National Territory of Rio Negro, by the "General Administration of Penal Institutions".

This establishment, built after the Penal Colony of La Pampa, of which I spoke about in my previous Open Letter which appeared in a previous issue of the *Journal*, is part of a plan drawn up in our law, 11833, passed in 1933.

Before going into detailed description of this new establishment, I believe it convenient to make a brief summary of the most important points of that law.

Article 1 sets up the "General Administration of Penal Institutions" which shall "*take charge of all the Penal Institutions of the country*". This body is ruled by: (a) a General Director, (b) an Advisory Council, and (c) a technical-administrative staff.

The "Advisory Council" (b) is made up by the "General Director of Penal Institutions", who is its President and four members, who are: a Professor of Criminal Law of the University of Buenos Aires, named by the government; the President of the Parole Board; the Director of the Psychiatric Annex; and the Chief of the National Register of Recidivism.

The law contemplates and establishes the "penal regime" to be adapted which must be "progressive" and divided into five grades:

1st.—A- of Observation

2nd.—B- of Internment (the convict works inside the establishment)

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3rd.-C- of *Orientation*, (in a Penal Colony or Industrial Prison, the convict can work outside)

4th.-C- of *Trial or Test*, (in camps of semi-freedom—which can be sections of colonies, farms or industrial prisons)

5th.-E- of *Reintegration*, (with release under vigilance, and under the control of the Parole Board in the cases of conditional release).

In order to achieve a real moral reconstruction that will allow the offender to take his place again in society, different regimes will be set up in the organization of the penal establishments. There will be:

- 1 - *A moral regime and practical education.*
- 2 - *A regime of technical apprenticeships of trades.*
- 3 - *A disciplinary regime.*

The law 11833 besides, authorizes the Executive Power to build and organize a series of establishments, (among which is the one dealt with in this letter), taking into account the progressive penal regimes. This program is being developed now and once finished, it will place Argentina in a very interesting level of technical perfection, and will be at the same time a very interesting penological experience. The establishments to be set up are:

- 1 - Penal Colonies and arms.
- 2 - Industrial Prisons.
- 3 - Semi-freedom Camps.
- 4 - Prisons for adult women.
- 5 - Prisons for those under process in conjunction with the Criminal Courts, for the Federal Capital.
- 6 - Idem in each National Territory.
- 7 - Infectious section.
- 8 - Psychiatric Annex.

Besides there will be a special establishment for recidivists and convicts rebellious to the regimes of the other establishments, that is to say, for the inadaptable and dangerous ones.

Penal Colony of General Roca

The work on the building began in 1936. Its parallel type of construction allows for the increase of its capacity by building new pavil-

ions "in depth, and above the main corridor, which can be prolonged indefinitely". There are yards on both sides of the main corridor, starting from the entrance hall. In the front are the Administration offices, and on the sides, the school, shops and stores, an arrangement which eliminates their direct contact with the cells.

The extremely costly exterior "safety walls" which give these establishments the terroristic aspect of "living tombs" have been eliminated. These walls are a real index of the harshness of society towards the misguided, mentally ill or unbalanced. Instead of being an element of "safety", they are really disintegrating factors of the positive elements which exist in every convict, who instead of being "blocked" must be guided with human sympathy.

The basis of the colony is open air work for its inmates, who are of rural origin. They must have shown previously in other establishments, their capacity for adaptability, discipline, desire for individual improvement, and good intentions to return to society.

It is very interesting to note—it may even be an example to other countries—with what limited funds the building work was begun. The "labor" used exclusively, were the inmates who were housed provisionally in the town prison. This very work of these people, which was a school of apprenticeship discipline of schedule, and a stimulant to their own aptitude and joy of work, succeeded, little by little, in making them become attached to their "own work", a home for themselves. They were building their own roof and their own comforts.

The rural work will be done in 197 acres. Permanent irrigation ducts have been built. The fruit will be industrialized, (this is eminently a fruit producing region); much grange and farm work will be done; by-products of wood will be utilized, etc. The General Administration says that the "educational-professional aim, (shops and schools), and economic advantages, (industrial shops), will be achieved, looking for capacity in the first, and in the second one, trying to satisfy the needs of the State, beginning with those of the "General Administration of Penal Institutions."

It is interesting to remark, as a possible generalization for all State works, that here they used up as much as possible the local raw materials such as stones, sand and pebbles. The cement conduits, bricks, tiles, shingles, carpentry, etc., were manufactured right on the spot. Thus the total cost of the construction job was less than \$600,000. (Argentine paper pesos, approximately U. S. \$150,000). This includes the installa-

tion of an electric power house of 160 H. P. which gives light to the establishment and power for the shops and irrigation pumps.

This colony has a capacity for 200 inmates and this year another group of pavilions will be built to house another equal amount.

Needless to say, in an establishment of this kind, careful attention has been paid to various services, such as the hospital with first aid rooms, operating hall, infectious, contagious wards; the pharmacy; the baths; identification offices, etc.

The Administration has had comfortable chalets built, with all modern comforts, for the staff of the establishment.

II – The New General Director of Penal Institutions

As Dr. Jose Maria Paz Anchorena had resigned about two years ago, Dr. Eduardo M. Ortiz, the old Sub-Director, and provisional Director, was named General Director of Penal Institutions of the Nation on the 24th of November of 1943.

Dr. Ortiz who reaches this very high position as a young man, is a scholar of everything related to crime and punishment. He began his public career on graduating from Law School, becoming a District Attorney and after he was named Judge in the National Territories. Later he became Inspector of the Judiciary, General Inspector of Penal Institutions and finally he is in the position of General Director.

His designation is therefore an act of justice to a dynamic, honest, intelligent and cultured man, who dedicated himself for more than twenty years to the study and application of penal standards. Much is expected from his action, putting into practice the main part of the program of the well planned 11.833 law.

III – Third Latin American Congress of Criminology

This scientific meeting has been announced for next July in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Brasil).

IV – First Pan American Congress of Mental Hygiene

The Committee that will have charge of the preliminary tasks related to Mental Hygiene in the three Americas, specially for the Post-War and concerning the Immigration from countries at ar and ex-soldiers.

The Committee appointed is as follows:

Chairman, Gonzalo Bosch; Secretary, Eduardo Krapf; Members, Francisco de Veyga, León S. Morra, Nerio Rojas, Lanfranco Ciampi, Raimundo Bosch, Alberto Zwanck, Vincente Dimitri, José C. Belbey, Juan C. Montanaro, Alberto E. Rossi, Antoni Fox, Ramon Carrillo, Enrique Mouchet, Osvaldo Loudet, Alejandro Raitain, Luis Esteves Balado, Alberto Bonhour, René Ardití Rocha, Félix Roca, Fernando Gorriti, Mario A. Sharbi, Julio D'Oliverira Esteves, Luis Martinez Dalke, Carlos R. Pereyra, Roberto Luchi, Pedro R. Bagnati, Enrique Mó Gatti, José Pereyra Käffeer y Carlos Fernández Speroni.

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Abstracts From Current Literature

A - Neuropsychiatry

THE CASE OF GREGORIO CARDENAS, THE STRANGLER OF FOUR WOMEN. JOSE ANGEL CENICEROS. *Criminalia*, Mexico, pp. 31-34.

This brief article critically discusses three conflicting psychiatric diagnoses of the defendant in a famous Mexican criminal case. The offender, Gregorio Cardenas, strangled four women, in a period of slightly more than a month, without any apparent motivation or purpose. The trial of the criminal received wide publicity and stirred up the entire population. The alternatives of the court were either to sentence Cardenas to the death penalty, or prison for twenty to thirty years or to commit him to a mental hospital or asylum for an indefinite period.

Dr. Cenicerros begins by deploring the unprofessional nature of incidents which occurred between the conflicting groups of psychiatrists at the session of the Society of Neurology and Psychiatry. He states that the meeting of this austere scientific society was converted into a sounding board and rostrum for the amusement and entertainment of the lay public by distinguished Mexican psychiatrists who attacked the professional opinion of the Spanish neurological psychiatrist, Dr. Gonzalo R. La For, who is now resident in Mexico. His scientific standards, as well as his professional ethics, were questioned.

As was natural in connection with such a spectacular crime as that of Cardenas, the old polemics revolving around the death penalty, as the punishment and deterrent for crime, were revived. The futility of and lack of scientific justification for capital punishment is pointed out by our author since he agrees with Goethe that there is not a crime in existence which could not be committed by almost anyone under a given set of circumstances.

The psychiatrists who were retained by the defense attorneys denounced Dr.

La For as a violator of professional ethics, resulting in wide publicity against the Spanish doctor. Fortunately, the Federal District Attorney, after a careful and scrupulous investigation, found no grounds for criminal action or any kind of legal proceedings against Dr. La For. The charges against the Spanish psychiatrist were based upon the fact that he had violated professional secrecy by revealing his opinions and the facts upon which they were based. However, the charges were not supported legally because the data revealed by Dr. La For were not received by him privately and his articles published in *Excelsior* and *Criminalia* were scientifically motivated and were not conscious revelations of professional secrets which might react against the defendant or his family. After a while the agitation against the Spanish psychiatrist died down and scientific objectivity returned to the Society of Neurology and Psychiatry.

Returning to the question of the proper disposition of the Cardenas case based on the psychiatric studies of the personality make-up of the offender Dr. Cenicerros presents the different possible diagnoses and shows that each could be supported scientifically and that the cry of the public for vengeance, the death penalty and even lynching could not be justified by any of the opinions. The author raises the question of whether the psychiatrists, like the radiologists, merely interpret shadows.

He first gives the diagnosis made by Dr. La For who stated that Cardenas committed the homicides because of a pathological impulse of an epileptic nature which deprived him of all conscious control and was accompanied by a more or less complete amnesia for his acts. In other words, he killed during a state of epileptic automatism with a complete obliteration of his consciousness. Later in a state of full awareness, he attempted to cover up the crimes and defended him-

self as a normal man would. The following five reasons were given to support the diagnosis of crepuscular epileptic state: (1) the defendant showed an *inherited tendency* to epilepsy especially on the maternal side of the family. (2) *Epileptic equivalent* reactions in the patient during infancy (between four and five years of age), in the pubertal period, and in the adult stage (hemicrany, vertigo, somnambulism). (3) The inexplicable explosiveness and unpremeditated nature of the homicides and the complete *amnesia* associated with them. (4) The exactness with which each of the murders followed the *same pattern* in every detail by strangling the victim (epileptic automatism). (5) The *Rorschach* protocol is typical of an epileptic.

The second possible diagnosis (opposed to that of La Fora) presented by the author is the one submitted by some of the official psychiatric experts appointed by the court to study the accused. Cardenas was considered by these experts as a *neurotic with an active Oedipus Complex*. They based their opinion on a careful prolonged psychoanalysis of the patient. The Freudian view that there was a *conflict* between the subject's strong instinctive tendency and the social set-up which provided no outlet for these unconscious impulses, furnishes the theoretical background for this opinion. This unconscious psychological and neurotic conflict had its origin in early infancy. Freud describes three types of such neurotics and Cardenas falls in the most criminogenic category.

The author discusses Freud's views on neurotic criminality and raises the question of whether Cardenas' anti-social conduct results from "guilt feelings", psychic trauma in early childhood, an unresolved Oedipus Complex, or from all of these. He points out that there are many criminals whose anti-social conduct is produced under the influence of unconscious motives such as *auto-compulsion* (kleptomania, pyromania, etc.) or punishment-seeking behavior (guilt feelings). Dr. Cenicerros asks the further question, "Of what practical importance can such a diagnosis be for the judge?" He answers that judges usually consider

the neurotic type as normal for purposes of applying punishment.

A third diagnostic opinion was that held by the learned and skilled psychiatrists for the defense. They considered Cardenas to be a case of *schizophrenia*. They pointed out his symptoms of psychic free occupation, inner insecurity, lack of initiative, disordered consciousness, schizoid withdrawal, etc.

Dr. Cenicerros states that to these three divergent diagnostic opinions possibly others could be added if other psychiatrists had been called in and again he wonders whether psychiatrists are "interpreting shadows." He does state that when the Mexican psychiatrists appointed by the court, whose opinions were given unofficially to him, will issue their final opinion to the court, it will probably clarify the entire problem. It will then be up to Dr. La Fora to prove whether his diagnosis is correct by stating his reasons or if he is mistaken, to say so, but in the final analysis the outcome must be based upon scientific reasons and never on considerations of intraprofessional struggles or questions of nationality. The author hopes that the presentation of the final studies to the judge will practically determine whether Cardenas belongs in a mental hospital for an indefinite period or in a prison for a term of twenty to thirty years.

Samuel B. Kutash,
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THE PENAL PROBLEM OF THE HOMOSEXUAL
A. TAVARES DE ALMEIDA, *Boletín de
Identificación y Policía Técnica*, Lima.
Peru. 4:51-62. November-December 1939.

This theoretical article discusses the problem of the judicial treatment of homosexuality from the medico-legal point of view. It represents the author's opinion as expressed at the meeting of the Society of Legal Medicine and Criminology of Sao Paulo. Dr. de Almeida is of the conviction that whatever we believe the etiological explanation of homosexual-

ism to be, whether we agree with the psychogenetic theory to which Freud gave such clear meaning, whether we explain sexual inversion on an endocrinological basis, or whether we consider it a defect attributable to faulty biological education or due to an organic cause or predisposition, it must still be treated as an immoral phenomenon, inimical to society and therefore punishable as a crime against the public welfare. The author states that if the specific purpose of the individual is to reproduce then homosexuality is biologically harmful because it thwarts the basic purpose of mankind.

The article emphatically says that the problem of homosexuality in our midst cannot be disregarded. It is viewed as a deadly sin when judged according to religious principles. It is not tolerated by custom and is looked upon with repugnance by even the most benign individuals. Only men of science, tempered by a kindness resulting from great knowledge and wisdom, adopt a merciful and tolerant view toward homosexuals. The author attacks this tolerant attitude and urges the strict enforcement of existing penal laws against all types of homosexuality as well as the retention of these laws in the penal codes.

Sexual anomalies like sodomy, pederasty, and the like, interfere with the normal reproductive functions and this is harmful to society because increase in population is considered by the author as necessary to social progress. Also, sexual inversion impairs morals and corrupts principles. It should, therefore, be considered a "natural crime" under the law.

Dr. de Almeida summarizes the work of Dr. Leonidio Ribeiro of Brazil and of other medico-legal scholars of South America and suggests that treatment and punishment of the homosexual should not be neglected in the drafting of the future Legal Code and the new penal laws. He asks the question as follows: "If homosexuality is a natural crime because it is immoral, anti-economic, harmful, and dangerous to society, why is it not repressed penologically?" His answer is that his motion which provided that homosexuality should be punished in the future criminal code was opposed at the

First Paulista Congress of Criminology and Sociology by a group of psychiatrists who regard the homosexual as a sick and degenerate person rather than a criminal.

The remainder of the article is devoted to refuting those who opposed the author's motion at the Congress. Dr. de Almeida marshals evidence from psychiatric sources to support his own point of view. He quotes from Dr. Ribeiro's work on *Homosexuality and Endocrinology* which illustrates that Freud did not in any way distinguish homosexuals as a separate group with abnormal psychic characteristics who should be treated differently from most normal individuals. They are just as responsible for their acts. Alexander and Staub, says the author, admit the existence of genuine or congenital homosexuality but consider it to be rare. The large majority of sexual inverts are so not because of endocrinological causes and should be able to control their impulses. According to our author, the endocrinological evidence does not affirm the view that homosexuality is always the result of a pathological or degenerate state. He cites appropriate references from Kraft-Ebing, Nerio Rojas, and Ribeiro, who all distinguish between true homosexuality organically determined and sexual inversion attributable to environmental causes.

The legal responsibility of homosexuals is fully discussed. Again the statements of various authorities are quoted to show that in most cases, the homosexual is aware of his acts and deliberately chooses to perform them and is thus morally and legally responsible.

In summarizing his arguments, the writer of the article points out the dominant trend in the evolution of penal laws, which is in the direction of having a greater number of legal prohibitions and a more intensive humanization of punishment and individualization of the penal treatment in each case. He believes that all immoral, anti-economic, and socially dangerous acts should be considered crimes irrespective of what the etiology of the anti-social impulse leading to the act may be. The primary purpose of law should be to safeguard society and when an individual is in con-

flict with the interests of society the penal law should favor society as a whole. There is a greater crime than a possible injustice to an individual and that is an injury to society and the social welfare.

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the indication is that the interplay of these elements is an etiological factor of greatest importance,

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A STUDY OF TWENTY-TWO MEN CONVICTED OF MURDER IN THE FIRST DEGREE. RALPH S. BANAY. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 34:106-111, July-August, 1943.

This study was based upon the findings from twenty-two subjects convicted of first degree Murder and sentenced to Sing Sing selected at random to see if there were any similarities in their psychosomatic reactions and their previous environment that would tend to throw light on the causes of this greatest of anti-social acts.

There was a variation of physical detail, slightly higher than that of the average criminal, showing no criminal tendencies. The educational background was below normal but much higher than the average criminal. Mental defectives were used only as finger men in hold-ups. There was such a variance in the psychosomatic elements and physical circumstances surrounding the crime that very little was gained toward the solution of the problem. Only the reaction pattern could be considered in any way constant.

From the socio-economic aspect thirty percent came from broken homes but sixty percent were from the better class of homes, financially.

The only economic factors showing any importance were those of unskilled and unemployed men of ages between twenty and thirty-five, in good physical health and excessively alcoholic. This was a slight majority of those studied.

Since there is no outstanding feature,

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SEX OFFENDERS. FRIEDRICH LEPPMAN. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 32:366-380. September, 1941.

Both judge and social worker need a comprehensive knowledge of sex offenders. Police officers also need a special knowledge of the nature of sex offenders. Experience has shown that a sex offender does not correspond to the popular notion of being either a brute or a libertine, but, rather, that an immense variety of persons are capable of committing sexual offences either because of personal conditions or special circumstances.

The average man does not want his sexual satisfaction through exposure of genitalia, misusing a child or violently forcing a resisting girl. Connections between these offenders and normal tendencies can easily be discovered and thus the psychological roots of sex offences become apparent. Abnormal mental conditions may frequently play a decisive role. Persons of abnormal mentality who commit sex offences fall into several groups: those characterized by crudeness including three types, imbeciles and morons, neglected individuals and those running wild, and degenerate drunkards; those characterized by perversion (exhibitionists, paedophiles, the sadist which includes the sexual murderer); those characterized by mental diseases and senility (twilight states of deeply clouded consciousness, general paresis, schizophrenia); those characterized by the brute and libertine.

Sexual offences are committed under special circumstances. Men who lack the opportunity for normal intercourse (cripples, stutterers, etc., who are rejected by women) are found in this group. In addition, there are conditions

peculiarly conducive to the committing of sexual offences. Crowded lodgings with several persons in one bed condition sexually. Little girls attach themselves to the owners of candy shops. Teachers in isolated rural areas sometimes succumb to the temptation of criminal erotic relationships with their pupils. Superstitions have contributed to the list of sex offenders as popular belief exists that intercourse with a virgin will cure gonorrhoea or syphilis or that an old man is rejuvenated by intercourse with young girls. The author has not succeeded in securing a person who confessed either such motive, however.

Police, in attempting to locate a sexual criminal, should consider not only the category of the offense, but also the peculiar behavior of the offender must be given serious thought. The more successfully the officer recognizes the type of criminal in question, the easier he may trap him.

Chester D. Owens

Woodbourne, New York

CHILDHOOD BEHAVIOR DISORDERS AND DELINQUENCY. A. BLAU, M. D. *Mental Hygiene*. 27:261-266, April 1943.

There is a close relationship between the behavior disorders of childhood, pre-delinquency, and adult crime. Many criminals are repeaters in crime and this criminal career has its genesis in early and middle adolescence. Criminal, anti-social behavior is not a monistic sociological problem, but a tripartite problem involving the sociological and psychological factors of the individual's environment.

There are found to be four types of antagonistic behavior to society. These four types are closely related to the four natural age periods, ranging from pre-school to maturity. These behavior periods are crucial in the development or prevention of crime. The behavior aberrations are not inherently bad. They can be said to be behavior manifestations that are not in keeping with the particu-

lar environmental circumstances, i.e., a specific act under one specific set of conditions would be termed just. The same act under altered conditions would be judged as criminal. The area for effective work by the psychologist is in the determination of what constitutes responsibility for a crime in the legal sense.

The basis for crime lies in the unmodified drives of the new-born infant, the biological raw material. This infant, conscious only of himself, is socially unadjusted. Through the growth process, in surroundings made up of other beings, the untamed biological urges are modified to meet the social situation. One of the manifestations of education and growth is the ability to curb one's primitive biological impulses.

The problem, for the individual, is the satisfaction of hereditary urges within the framework of the social mores and legal codes. This, to some extent, is accomplished through the personality foundations laid in the home during the pre-school period. Exhaustive child guidance studies have shown that criminal careers are launched because of poor social training and development during childhood. This poor training and development is due to the lack of parental understanding, supervision, love and affection. The lack of these factors in the growth of the child leaves the developing individual with a myriad of emotional deficiencies; emotional needs that have never been satisfied. Anti-social behavior in a child is, in reality, a plea for aid and a signal of distress. Should this go unheeded, the gradual degeneration into a criminal pattern can be observed.

The goal of child guidance is the correct evaluation of the given raw materials, the infant individual, and the social environment, the home and neighborhood, and from this the formulation of the corrective measures to be taken to prevent the development of criminal tendencies. This entire process must be adapted for each individual case, and the treatment must be specific for each individual. There can be no general attack to an individual problem.

The effective solution of the childhood disorder-delinquency problem will

need the utmost cooperation among the sociologist, biologist, psychiatrist, jurist, and educator. Without this cooperation, the best that can be achieved is an incomplete treatment of the problem and therefore an ineffectual result.

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PSYCHOTHERAPY ON JUVENILE DELINQUENTS.
P. R. NEWKIRK. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 134:100-105, July-August, 1943.

This experiment in psychotherapy was carried out in the Northern State Hospital at Sedro-Wooley, Washington, lending some proof to the theory that "there is a definite place for psychotherapy within the scope of penology." After eliminating morons, severe psychopaths and other constitutionally anti-social individuals, about ten to fifteen percent of the juvenile delinquents could be prospective candidates for psychotherapeutic treatments.

Of the two case histories analyzed the first was a boy of seventeen who had been a homosexual case since the age of six, who received hypnotic treatments and was found to react favorably to post hypnotic orders. After thorough tests he was paroled to his father's farm. With increased privileges and regular treatment he is developing into a useful citizen.

The second case was of a recidivist, the son of well-to-do parents, who realized, too late, that he had ruined his life. He became ill through somatic expression of despair and despondency because of his ruined life. He was sent to the hospital for treatment and the diagnosis justified the application of psychotherapy which was effective immediately. The treatments were very successful for ninety days when state law required that he be returned to the reformatory at that time, probably to become a recidivist.

Experimental work seems to prove that the average juvenile delinquent is

neither more nor less suggestible than non-delinquents.

Only the highly suggestible group is accessible to suggestive psychotherapy. The prerequisite, therefore, is psychiatric diagnosis and classification. Prospective subjects should be tested thoroughly and if found suggestible should be given suspended sentences so that their actions should be restricted by suggestive orders rather than by physical retention and after sufficient hypnotic treatments should be given continually less restraint.

If one has little will power it would seem quite permissible to give him a loan from another person's will power if it would be the means of changing him from a shiftless young criminal into a useful member of society.

Since present methods of reforming juvenile delinquents is not satisfactory suggestive psychotherapy should be given a chance to prove its use in management of the psychoneurotic type of juvenile delinquent.

G. Allison Worden
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TREATMENT IN AN INSTITUTION. R. L. JENKINS. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*... 11:85-92. January, 1941

The move to provide clinical services for institutions has been advocated by some in the hope that by this procedure a custodial institution is changed into a treatment institution. These institutional clinics, however, have not been well integrated in the institutions. Personnel see little value and only extra work wherever a clinic exists; and, the clinic does not face practical situations within the institution. The skill of a therapist is reduced because of any hostility among the personnel. Individual treatment is nullified by an institution which is indifferent to treatment.

Any institution is stronger than its clinic; this fact should be faced by clinicians. The clinic can be significant

only insofar as it functions in the interests of the institution. The process of treatment depends on a general development of human attachments and loyalties between staff and inmates. Resentment and bitterness can be eradicated by an interested staff. Cottage parents can contribute much to the attitudes of their charges.

The purpose of a clinic in an institution is three-fold: to make diagnostic studies of individual boys, to carry on clinical treatment of individual cases, and to bring to supervisors an understanding of the background and needs of individual boys.

Chester D. Owens
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THE SERVICES OF THE MILITARY MENTAL HYGIENE UNIT. MAJOR HARRY L. FREEMAN, M.C. *American Journal of Psychiatry*. 100:34-41. July, 1943.

This paper deals with the services and some of the experiences of the Mental-Hygiene Unit at the Eastern Signal Corps Replacement Training Center, Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, of which the author is the Director. The purpose of the unit is to provide mental hygiene facilities to the command to institute necessary corrective measures in soldiers having difficulty in meeting military requirements or to initiate their discharge when necessary.

The unit is in charge of the psychiatrist, who is both clinician and administrator, guiding, coordinating and evaluating all the results of the clinical work. The coordinated skills of the psychiatrist, psychiatric social worker and psychologist working as a clinical team, are utilized as the most efficient approach to the individual soldier's problem. The mental hygiene unit's philosophy is in no way basically at variance with that of any professional person or mental hygiene clinic. In serving the army, it also aims to serve the individual soldier, sensitively and professionally.

The Director of the Unit, who is a member of the Commanding General's Staff, disposes of the cases referred to him by any one or a combination of the following methods:

(a) Counseling, psychiatric social work and psychological testing

(b) Reclassification where considered advisable.

(c) Special programs cooperatively developed through contact with staff sections, personnel and classification officers, school directors, chaplains, regimental, battalion and company commanders, infirmaries and hospitals, inspector and intelligence officer.

(d) Special psychiatric treatment.

(e) Referral to special training unit for training.

(f) Referral to American Red Cross for aid in home socio-economic problems.

(g) Psychiatric observation in Station Hospitals where deemed necessary.

Of special interest to workers in the field of criminal psychopathology, is the frequent service of the mental hygiene unit in evaluating cases of soldiers appearing before courts-martial boards and discharging boards, when a fuller knowledge of their personalities is required for proper disposition. In rendering opinions to the command, the primary consideration is the *degree of responsibility* which the soldier can be expected to display. For example, a soldier who goes A.W.O.L. because his bride of three months is worried over her pregnancy is of more potential value than the soldier who goes A.W.O.L. when intoxicated.

The author presents statistics for the last seven months of 1942. Of 1089 cases referred to the unit, discharge was initiated in 163 cases. Of these, 23 were discharged for psychoses, 17 for psychoneuroses, 4 for epilepsy, 59 for physical difficulties such as asthma, hernia, etc., 10 for psychopathic personality, 9 for enuresis, 8 for mental defect, 6 for chronic alcoholism, 4 for homosexuality and 23 for illiteracy.

In cases of discharge for inaptitude or *undesirable character traits*, the recommendation is, at present, made by a board of three line officers. The director of the mental hygiene unit prepares a report and presents it in person to the board. The

author emphasizes that cases of *psychopathic personality* and *mental deficiency* must be so presented as to contain a minimum of technical material and must clearly demonstrate that the soldier is of no further military value. Dr. Freedman comments that it is difficult to speak of "behavior patterns" which result in chronic insubordination, since the army cannot tolerate these because of the need for firm military discipline. Likewise, in the case of *psychosomatic complaints*, it is a rare officer who will understand that a soldier is not "goldbricking" or malingering. These cases must be presented in very concrete form, drawing freely from illustrative material which is furnished in the field in-

vestigation made by the military social worker.

The existence and functioning of this hygiene unit is illustrative of the *democratic approach* which has characterized the formation and training of the U. S. Army. While the responsibility has been accepted for training the best possible soldiers in the best possible army the rights and personality of the individual soldier have always been respected. The unit serves the best interests of both the army and the individual soldier.

Samuel B. Kutash,

Woodbourne, N. Y.

B. Clinical Psychology

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE YOUNG DELINQUENT. R. NEVITT SANFORD. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 7:223-230. September-October, 1943.

The author agrees with those who hold that the causes of delinquent behavior are to be found, not so much in hereditary or constitutional defects, as in the social environment of the individual. He cites the facts that studies which sought to demonstrate anatomical or physical differences between criminals and non-criminals proved unconvincing whereas evidence of association between environmental factors and delinquents' behavior continues to accumulate. He argues that poverty, lack of education, malnutrition, broken homes, demoralized neighborhoods, and the like have been proven to be important correlates of criminal conduct. In spite of all this, Dr. Sanford points out that the usefulness of this type of knowledge leaves much to be desired in the treatment of the individual offender even though it enables us fairly accurately to predict delinquency in populations or groups.

Dr. Sanford maintains that an association between delinquency and a general social condition like poverty really tells us very little about the causes of the be-

havior we would understand. We must know precisely how poverty leads to delinquency and why it has this effect in some individuals but not in others. Only further analysis of the psychological needs of the individual and of the psychologically relevant attributes of the environment can furnish the answer. To understand how low economic status happens to be associated with delinquency, we must know what low economic status means to the individual in terms of frustration and gratification of basic needs.

To illustrate the above psychological point of view, a case study is presented of a seven-year-old boy brought to a behavior clinic by his mother. He is unmanageable at home, restless, rebellious, destructive, and mean to his little sisters. He even hurls sticks at ladies walking down the street. The same type of behavior is typical of the boy in school. On the basis of a sociological survey, this boy would be among the least likely to become a problem. The family is cultured, economically secure, and respected in the community. The mother offers as proof of her love for this boy the fact that she spends a great deal of time with him, has taken every precaution to safeguard his health, has studied and even lectured on child training, and

took care that he was not made jealous by the arrival of the younger sisters. Several long interviews transpire before she overplays her hand and reveals that her elaborate and compulsively maintained "perfect mother" pose is a mask which conceals—something she cannot help—the deepest rejection of her son. The youngster, after several sessions of play therapy, puts the matter quite simply: "I don't believe my mother likes me." The boy's pre-delinquent behavior thus proved to be an appropriate and understandable reaction to an intolerable environmental situation and will be modified only when his mother has undergone a fundamental change of attitude towards him, or when there is a clear break with the mother and he finds love and support from some other source.

The case illustrates the author's point that *parental rejection* is the type of factor into which we must analyze the environment if we are to gain effective control over it. Other factors of the same order are over-protection, capricious discipline, repressive domination, emotional barrenness, concealed sadism, and sexual seduction in all its manifold forms. These are the psychologically relevant factors which should be sought in every case of juvenile delinquency. Factors of these kinds, though they may appear on any socio-economic level, are to be found with the greatest frequency where we find social ills. This accounts in large part for the high correlations between delinquency and social ills as such.

Another case cited by the author brings out the differences in point of view between psychologists who can be classified as *developmentalists* or those who would change the patient's personality, and the *environmentalists* or those who would manipulate the environment and change the patient's situation. The case cited turns out to be one which can better be handled by the developmentalist. The author feels that there are cases for the environmentalist and cases for the developmentalist. Our problem is to know which is which.

Dr. Sanford applies the above conclusion to four distinct types of true criminals,—the *anti-social offenders*, the *pre-social offenders*, the *asocial type*, and the truly *neurotic offenders*. He points out that psychotherapy is at present indicated only

in the last type in spite of the fact that the delinquent behavior in all types springs from tendencies which are deeply imbedded in the personality. In the other types it is possible, when we have an understanding of the personality, to direct behavior into channels which are acceptable provided we do not aim too high.

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A PERSONALITY ANALYSIS TEST. JESSIE R. RUNNER AND MARGARET A. SEAVER. *American Journal of Sociology*. 49:209-222. November 1943.

The authors describe a new Personality Analysis Test and present a preliminary statistical study of it based on a selected sample of 350 cases. This personality inventory consists of 239 items representing the everyday experience of normal people and has been administered to more than a thousand cases out of which the controlled sample of 350 was drawn for the preliminary standardization.

The general purpose of the questionnaire is to discover some of the more important attitudes which determine the individual's relationship to the other persons in his immediate social environment and his role in the more inclusive social group. By discovering these attitudes it is hoped to give the individual himself some insight as to the way in which his attitudes and resulting behavior affect other people and his place in society and to furnish the outsider with some basis for prediction as to his social attitudes and the manner of approach to his life problems. The determination of the conditioning facts upon which the attitudes and behavior may be based, such as intelligence, physical appearance, social or educational level, and the like, is outside the scope of this particular study.

Essentially, the problem is that of determining the course of the interaction between the individual and certain elements of his environment. The questionnaire is divided into three parts: (1) Attitudes To-

ward the Self; (2) Attitude Toward Other People and Toward the Group; and (3) Approach to the Solving of Life-Problems. Much of the analysis of the self and the more intimate relations of the affectional life, as well as the basic idea for the general classification of personality, have been taken from psychoanalysis. The attitudes toward the status of the self and the role in the group have been derived from Simmel and the *Adlerian psychology*. Certain aspects of the relation between the person and his environment have utilized Lewin's field theory and Korzybski's work in semantics. The concepts of goal and the end products of adjustment have been taken from Blatz and others. Lastly, the concepts of sociology and psychology have been drawn upon for the definition of the attitudes showing the more general approach to life-problems and society in general.

A total of 27 attitudes, assumed to be particularly significant in the differentiation and understanding of normal personalities, are given a special definition in the test and measured by means of small, selected batteries of questions. The attitudes are referred to by the authors as "the variable factors of the personality." Each variable factor is represented by a symbol, which if possible, shows something of the dynamics of the attitude which the particular factor seeks to measure. Thus, the group of self factors are designated by an S with appropriate modifying signs; the factors involve attitudes towards persons are designated by a P; and the factors showing group attitudes with a G. All others are indicated by single letters taken from the key word in the definition.

The 27 factors of the Personality Analysis Test are listed and defined in the article, an example is given, for each factor, of one of the questions from the battery measuring that particular factor, and the significance ratio is indicated. These ratios were obtained from a comparison between the 15 per cent (about 60) top scores on each factor and an equal number of the lowest scores. No question has been retained in the test which show a significance ratio of less than 3.5; and the mean ratio for all the questions is about 7.0. The number of questions in the inven-

tory for each factor is stated but the questions are not given verbatim.

The 7 factors listed under Attitudes Toward the Self are self-focus, self-inferiority, self-superiority, irritability, obstinacy, self-reliance, and co-operativeness. The 12 factors under Attitudes Toward Other People and Toward the Group are sociability, social withdrawal, group conformity, guilt attitudes, social sympathy, competitiveness, social aggression, negativism, critical attitude, exhibitionism, overdependence, and ambivalence. The 8 factors indicative of The Approach to the Solving of Life-Problems are initiative, perseverance, common sense, adaptability, care of money, interest in things, routine response, and impulsive response.

In addition to the 230 questions of the test, there is a preliminary questionnaire as to the facts of the family background, economic status, etc., which introduces the test, and a final section as to vocational preferences and early memories designed to give a hint as to the present wishes and the nature of the past history.

On the basis of the carefully selected sample of 350 cases and after several months of intensive preliminary investigation and many conferences both with known and with unknown personalities, the authors regard the classification of personality according to the type of response to environmental stimuli, i. e., the routinized (R) versus the impulsive (Z) as of primary importance.

For further statistical analysis the 350 cases were divided into 5 groups each composed of 35 men and 35 women. Class I consists of those personalities with a highly developed Z factor and a low R. Class II is the reverse and shows a high R and a low Z. Class III is high both in R and Z factors. Class IV is low in both Z and R. Finally, Class V is near the mean of both factors and is designed as the "middle class."

The authors then proceed to discover the discriminatory value of the test. First, they determine whether the differentiation of personality into five classes is valid, and if so what the nature of the differences between them are. The five groups of personalities were studied separately with reference to each of the 25 factors other than the R and Z which form the basis of the

division. The means, standard deviations, and standard errors of the means were calculated for the 27 factors both for the entire sample and for each class separately. Statistically significant differences were found among the five personality groups after differences between the means, standard errors of the differences, and critical ratios were determined. These differences are discussed in terms of characteristics of each of the classes.

By the application of similar statistical techniques, statistically reliable differences were found between adolescents and adults, men and women, and between well-adjusted and "problem" personalities. These differences are carefully interpreted.

A test of this kind has considerable value for use by psychologists to supplement direct interview, intelligence testing, and case analysis. It is particularly applicable to atypical groups such as prison inmates, juvenile delinquents and hospital patients although it can be applied to the "normal" subject as well.

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THE VALIDITY OF CERTAIN ADJUSTMENT INVENTORIES IN PREDICTING PROBLEM BEHAVIOR. N. KEYS, N. S. GUILFORD. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 28:641-655, 1937.

There is a demand for devices which will help in identification of pupils who are in need of special attention and assisting these pupils in analyzing the problems before them. Many tests, rating scales, and record systems are now available for use but in most cases these instruments have not been submitted to objective investigation in order to ascertain the relative merits for specific uses.

This study attempts to compare the usability of four inventories of the questionnaire type in predicting maladjustment in the ninth and tenth grades. Out of

this social and emotional maladjustment there results disciplinary conduct of a serious nature. Intellectual deficiencies, ill health, and bad home environment are contributing factors.

The four inventories used were the Sim's Score card for Socio-Economic Status, the Bell Adjustment Inventory, Bernreuter's Personality-Inventory, and the Personal Index by Hoofbourow and Keys. These have all been reported by their authors to show reliabilities above .90 and satisfactory validity.

The freshman and sophomore classes of the high school of Chico, California, were used as the subjects in this experiment. 140 boys and 130 girls furnished complete data on all four tests.

Certain conclusions are drawn as to the degree of predictions obtainable. The correlations shown were insufficient on any test to give accurate predictions of individual pupils. The scores on the Personal Index could be interpreted as suggestive only. However, the correlations based on the Personal Index did show some significance and were conspicuously higher than for those from other inventories.

On the whole, the results were disappointing as to assurance that these instruments could accurately be used to identify disciplinary problem cases. The last part of the Index was found to be the adjustment questionnaire which has many items dealing with adjustment in school situations and because of this phase was found superior to both the Bell and Bernreuter inventories. The next highest prediction was afforded by the home adjustment section of the Bell inventory. It would seem from this, that the matter of human relationships was more important than economic circumstances in determining the "goodness" of the home from the standpoint of children's behavior.

The Sim's Score cards showed that poor social-economic status was significantly associated with problem behavior in boys as rated by principals and counselors. However, this did not hold true for girls. Bell's Health adjustments, gave

significant relation to problem behavior as rated by administrators and counselors. There was very little relation of social and emotional adjustment to disciplinary conduct as measured by Bell's inventory. Scores for neuroticism and self sufficiency of the Bernreuter scales show no significant correlations with problem behavior.

In summary it must be said that the appraisals of problem behavior, even though obtained under favorable circumstances, proved to be very unreliable and of the four inventories compared, there was only one, the Hoofbourow-Keys Personal Index, specifically designed for the purpose, which gave predictions sufficiently high to be of practical use to the counselor. The results were truly disappointing.

James J. Brooks
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A COMPARISON OF THE PERFORMANCE OF MATCHED GROUPS OF SCHIZOPHRENIC PATIENTS, NORMAL SUBJECTS AND DELINQUENT SUBJECTS ON SAME ASPECTS OF THE STANFORD BINET. C. H. ALTMAN AND D. SHAKOW. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. 28:519-529. 1937.

The successes and failures of psychotic patients on the Stanford-Binet examination have been analyzed in previous studies but no attempt had been made to make a comparison of patients with normal subjects in mental age and then to note comparable results in the performance of these "matched pairs" on the different parts of the test.

It was the purpose of this study to compare matched groups of schizophrenic male patients, normal controls, and adult delinquents. The vocabulary level was compared with the general intellectual level in psychotic and non-psychotic subjects.

The normal subjects and adult delinquents of the schizophrenic patients composed the two groups which were

compared for mental age on the Stanford revision of the Binet Simon test. In the first group were included subjects of A and B cooperation level and thus the results did represent the ability of subject at the time of the test. of C and D cooperation made a second group and the results were considered representative of actual ability. When a distribution was made each group on the Stanford vocabulary test, the score of each individual given with reference to deviations from the mean in standard-devotional units.

A "discrepancy score" was used in this study to represent the relative performance on the vocabulary test in comparison with performance on the rest of the Stanford. It was found that in both groups of schizophrenics higher discrepancy scores were made, which indicate a relatively better vocabulary rating than were shown for either the normal subjects or delinquents.

The differences were sufficiently great to present statistical significance. This might give a clue as to further study which could be made of schizophrenics as to thought processes. There seems to be indication that certain kinds of mental activity characterize the schizophrenic's. There could be no association established between discrepancy scores and three different criteria of deterioration, and thus it would seem that the scores probably do not represent the degree of deteriorations in the schizophrenic. It is claimed that Babcock's "efficiency index" does this. The discrepancy scores should have further investigation as they might present some kind of measurement of the type of thinking in schizophrenics, whether related or unrelated to deterioration.

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C - Anthropology

DELINQUENCY AND ITS OUTCOME IN COURT
AND COLLEGE. AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD.
American Journal of Sociology. 49:
1938. November, 1943.

This investigation of delinquency and outcome in court and college is based on a statistical comparison of the delinquencies of college students with those of children who were brought before the juvenile court. Tentative explanations are given of the similarities and differences found. The subjects of the study include 2,049 alleged juvenile delinquents in the Fort Worth area and 337 college students alleged not to be delinquent, in three schools of northern Texas. The data include information on the pre-enrollment behavior of 200 men and 137 women and on the post-enrollment behaviors of one-half of the men.

The author first presents the similarities in the delinquencies of the two groups. The court cases, as analyzed, were charged with fifty-five specific offenses, varying all the way from "shooting spitwads at a wrestling match" to murder. Questionnaires, listing in one section the fifty-five specific offenses for which children were brought to court, were presented to the college students personally and were returned anonymously by them. The replies showed that the students freely reported numerous delinquencies of the same kind as the children were charged with but that they had not been brought before the courts for these offenses. Specifically, 100% of all the college students reported themselves as having committed one or more of the offenses listed for the juvenile court cases. The average number of offenses reported for precollege men was 17.6, for college men 11.2, and for precollege women 4.7. Analysis of the results shows that the offenses of the college students were apparently as serious, though probably not so frequent as those of youth in court. The data indicates that the students were fair representatives of those who enroll in college. The five tables in this section of

the report strongly support two conclusions: first, there are great similarities in the behaviors of college students and in cases that are complained about in the juvenile court; second, there is a wide difference in the extent to which the two groups are brought to court for the same offenses.

The researcher proceeds to interpret the differential court appearance of the two groups by reference to the varying socio-economic status of the families, family disorganization, the character of the complainants, the nature of the complaints, and the situations in which the acts are committed. In spite of the fact that he finds no close relation between income and misbehavior, Porterfield concludes, on the basis of the distinct relation found between income and social status, that members of the unfavored group may be hauled into court because they are on a lower level in the community than the police who arrest them. They are of less social importance than the clerks and managers of stores who turn them in for petty shoplifting. They are no more significant socially in the community than the neighbors, park attendants and other individuals who complain about them.

Only 16% of the college students, as compared with 50.6% of the court cases, came from broken homes. It is therefore concluded that *family disorganization* is a factor in the low social status and friendliness of the child with the result that he is more likely to be brought before the court when he commits an offense. The effect of family inadequacy and disorganization shows up more clearly than anywhere else in the attitudes of the parents toward their children. It would be a rare parent in the college group who would report a child as incorrigible or actively disclaim him when he is in trouble. In the cases of the study it did not happen. Yet 14 per cent of the girls in court were charged with incorrigibility by a parent. Also, parents often disclaimed their children or gave them no support when they

were reported by others to the court. Accentuating the friendlessness of the child is the fact that he lives in an impoverished, disorganized area, that he does not have the opportunity or incentive to participate in character-building, recreational, and socio-religious activities; and that he is educationally retarded.

The study further shows that many complainants were individuals with the same or slightly better social status than that of the offender. The court child is from a socially unimportant family, is friendless, and is frequently mistreated at home. But the college child, who behaves in much the same way, has friends at home, at school, at church, among club leaders, and on the playground. His family also has many friends. While the parents of the court child may be asking the court to send him to the training school, the parents of his more fortunate brother are planning to send the lucky boy to college.

The concluding section of the report deals with factors in the differential aftercareers of the two groups. The college group rises to positions of honor as often as the court group sinks into ignominy. A theory is offered to account for this difference in outcomes. It involves a differential range of social participation, accompanied by *progressive segregation* and *cumulative frustration* for the court group. The court experience is itself a step in the progressive segregation and cumulative frustration of the child whereas the college child attains status in the community and *expands* the range of his social participation.

The author did not consider the possible divergence in native intelligence and social adequacy between the court group and the college group. No data on the intelligence of the groups are presented in this study. It may well be that one of the reasons, perhaps the most *important* reason, why the individuals in the college group do not appear in court to answer for their offenses is that, being more intelligent, they are less likely to be apprehended when they commit an offense whereas the children who appear in court are not adept at avoiding detection because of their possible lower intelligence. The same factor of intel-

ligence may account for their becoming college students rather than confirmed delinquents later on. It would probably have been worth-while to have taken the intellectual factor into consideration in this study.

Samuel B. Kutash

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RACIAL HANDICAPS IN THE NEGRO DELINQUENT... D. W. WYATT. *Probation*, 21: 112-115, April, 1943.

A group of sixteen delinquent negro youths and a similar age group of negro youth, who had been successful in their scholastic and athletic pursuits, were used as a basis for a comparative study of the racial factors contributing to delinquency among negro youths.

The superior youths came from middle and upper lower class families with some from very poor homes. In the analysis, their success was due to an unusual amount of perseverance and application to their studies and social activities. They were out to prove that the superiority of one race to another is a myth. They wanted to show that they were *not* inferior, to the southern white community, in which they lived, where discrimination was studied and severe.

The delinquents manifested a broad range of intellectual and mental development. One, in fact, had an I. Q. of 120. Most of these boys were unsuccessful in their scholastic activities. The type of home background varied from the professional to the inadequate. Physically, the boys were in excellent condition.

From a study of the material collected, it is apparent that class of home, parental interest, financial standing, were not significant factors. These appeared, both good and bad, in both groups. A significant factor, however, is the wide discrepancy between what the negro is taught to expect in a Democracy, and the actual democratic practices encountered both in and out of school. The result of this gap between theory and

fact, is confusion, frustration, and disillusionment. This applies to the northern negro group (the delinquents were taken from the Philadelphia area, and the non-delinquents from a Southern city) to a much greater extent than it does to the Southern negro. The southern negro is never taught the essence of democratic application to the dark skinned Americans and therefore does not expect anything from the social environment which cannot be achieved as yet. The geographical factor, therefore, is pertinent. The northern negro expects a greater degree of democracy than is expected by the southern negro. When the discrimination in the north is just as rabid, albeit more subtle and covert, than southern discrimination, the reaction of the northern negro is more profound and aggressive.

Lack of employment opportunities is also an important factor. This is a vicious cycle. The negro is refused employment because of lack of training, the training schools refuse great numbers of negroes because there are no employment opportunities. This employment need, if not satisfied, results in the degeneration of self respect and consequently an aggressive antagonism to society as a whole, negro and white.

A possible solution: a complete program for training the negro for employment, expanding his opportunities for employment, and guidance for the negro youth. This is imperative, if the rising tendency toward delinquency among the negro youth, is to be averted.

Leonard L Press
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PREDICTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY. H. ASHLEY WEEKS. *American Sociological Review*, 8:40-46. February, 1943.

This paper is a report of an experimental attempt to predict juvenile delinquency

There are several divisions to the material presented:

(1) Source of Data—420 cases of male juvenile delinquents appearing before the Court in Spokane County, Washington, and an equal number of males from the secondary schools of Spokane were used as a basis for this study. The age range for both of these groups was 14-18.

(2) Methodology—The social background of the delinquents and non-delinquents were compared. There were 14 categories in which there was found to be a significant differentiation of factors. To substantiate these findings, 3 methods of scoring and checking of validity, were worked out and administered. These scoring procedures were simply devised and found to be valid in their results.

(3) Evaluation of Results—In the evaluation of the relationship existing between certain specific factors and the total score of delinquency incidence, tetrachoric correlation coefficients were devised and used for each of the 14 categories in which significant differences were found when comparing delinquent and non-delinquent.

It was then found that certain of the 14 categories, whose tetrachoric correlation coefficients were low, could be eliminated without minimizing or affecting the final prognostication of the probability of delinquency.

From the scoring methods devised, it is possible to predict not only general delinquency tendencies, but also specific types of delinquency tendencies. Of course, separate comparisons of the delinquent groups for specific factors would have to be made. The value inherent in this study lies in its use as a guide to the prescription of methods to be used in the treatment of individuals who show a high incidence of delinquency probability. A great deal of human tragedy can be averted if these social maladjustments are discovered and dealt with in time

Leonard L. Press
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GEOGRAPHY OF SUICIDE. . . H. W. GRÜHLE.
Der Nervenarzt 13:337, August 1940.

Suicide appears in the Penal Code of quite a number of States in the Union as an offense against the community although there is a growing tendency to regard it as a pathological and hence irresponsible act not punishable on a criminal basis. Due to various factors the Judiciary in the United States is coming around to the gradual belief that suicide is a mental rather than a judicial problem. Comparison of this attitude with those in Continental Europe, as brought about by Grühle's article, therefore, is of interest to the criminologist.

Within Germany itself there seems to be a zone in the central portion (Thuringia, especially Gotha proper) where the suicidal rate is the highest for the entire continent. The author is unable to assign any definite reasons for this phenomenon. In Saxony the incidence of suicide seems to be in direct proportion to the density of population. Saxony has always had a very high suicide rate. The author suggests that this may be due to the fact that Saxony has the highest number of divorces in Germany and statistics indicate that marital difficulties are a potent factor. Apparently disproving the theory that divorce is a factor in suicide, the author indicates that Galatia with a predominantly Catholic and Slavic population has a low incidence of suicide whereas Bohemia and Moravia, also inhabited by Catholic Slavs, have a high rate. The latter two provinces include many Germans which may explain this difference. In Westphalia, whose inhabitants are of a rather somber mode of living, the incidence of suicide is about the same as in the Rhineland which is moderately gay. In Saxony the highest incidence was in the middle-sized cities up to 25,000 inhabitants and not in the large urban areas.

The detailed figures given on German suicidal rates are of especial interest to the people of the United States because of the intensive study which has been given to the psychology of the German during the past year. There has been an increasing curiosity as to

perplexing and unexplainable conduct in some fields by the Germans who have shown marked intelligence and ability in others. The inconsistency of the German psychology has a direct relationship to the high incidence of suicide in that country.

Italy seems to have a very low rate, possibly due to comparative freedom from inhibitions. On the other hand the Netherlands with a much more conventional method of living and a more austere climate does not have any higher rate. Denmark and Norway inhabited by stable and somewhat stolid people show a marked difference; the former having a suicide incidence rate almost three times that of the latter. There are great differences in density of population of the two countries, however, so that the question of the urban situation assumes unusual weight in this comparison. This is also brought out in Sweden where the urban areas show a decidedly higher incidence and the rate is quite spotty throughout the country.

The author attempts to draw some conclusions from the perplexing data. He indicates that there is a tremendous variability of the incidence of suicide in the different countries of continental Europe and that even within each country there are marked variations. These cannot be attributable entirely to urban over-crowding or individual customs of living and drinking but there are many additional and somewhat latent factors which are not ordinarily apparent in statistical studies. A few of these are the incidence of psychopathy, use of drugs, excessive use of alcohol, migrations of portions of the population, especially in circumstances leading to industrial revolution. The rapid growth of defense areas and overcrowding under unhygienic and stressful conditions of life brought about by war, are of marked significance in the suicidal rate.

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D - Social & Statistics

THE PROBLEM OF THE CONGENITAL DEFECTIVE (EDUCATION, STERILIZATION, EUTHANASIA). FOSTER KENNEDY. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 99: 13-16, July, 1942.

There are many feeble-minded people not easily recognizable at first sight in the social world. In their higher grades they are greatly needed for the simpler forms of work. They are necessary for the work of the world. Only once was infanticide practiced universally by a state, that was by Sparta. The glory of Greece came not from Sparta but from the disorderly democracy of Athens. The totalitarian ideas of the sterilization of the unfit appeal to rigid and shallow minds that lack pity.

Two diseases largely fill our mental hospitals; schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis. Under Nazi law, these are sterilized. But the thought and ambition of mankind is not advanced by the great bulk of mankind. It goes forward by the brilliant jump of the few, the drive of the person especially endowed; he it is who lifts the rest. These brilliant few number among them a large number of psychasthenics, of mentally phasic individuals, who after a period of depression emerge to startle the world with their inventions. If we were to wipe out the manic-depressive psychoses, we would produce a population of Babbits, of mediocrities.

There are 60,000 feeble-minded persons in hospitals; five times that number on the outside. Idiots and imbeciles are not capable of being educated. A moron with a mental age of eight or nine can be educated within the range of his abilities—taught simple manual work, no abstractions, no general principles. If he is definitely diagnosed as "feeble-minded," if he comes from feeble-minded stock, then he should be sterilized.

The hopelessly unfit through accident should not be the victims of euthanasia. Those born through accidents,

nature's mistakes, should be. Diagnosis and prognosis will reveal which is which.

It is unwise to advocate the legalizing of euthanasia for any of us normals—the diagnosis of the seat of pains, though they remain, five years or more, may be incorrect. The place for euthanasia is for the hopelessly defective and those otherwise born hopelessly unfit.

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CRIMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIORISM. RUSTEM VAMBREY. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*... 32:158-165. July 1941.

Garofalo first pointed to the legal definition of crime as a fundamental difficulty in criminological research. He suggested that a substitution be made for "legal definition" and suggested "natural crime." Unfortunately what he termed natural crime does not necessarily agree with what law considers a crime. The question of whether such a thing as natural crime exists is not a new one. The widening gap between American and European criminological methods leads us to believe that a recognized method of research is in doubt. Judicial statistics have just been developed in this country whereas France, as an example, has had elaborate crime statistics for more than a century.

Legal rules are supposed to control human behavior. Law loses its *raison d'être* if we go along with the totalitarian theory which assumes that life, liberty, and the property of the citizen are at the mercy of the omnipotent state. A logical sequence to the revolutionary dictatorship is the promulgation of the dictator's will as seen in the German Law of June 28, 1935, that "Any person who commits an act which the law declares to be punishable or which is

deserving of penalty according to the fundamental conceptions of a penal law and a sound popular feeling, should be punished." This implies that any act may become a crime provided the court by way of analogy expresses the sound popular feeling that it should be punished.

In view of the present happenings in Europe, the importance of the legal aspect of crime has undoubtedly increased. In this country not only the majority of American criminologists but the most prominent ones are not jurists. They are as a rule, sociologists or psychiatrists. Perhaps this accounts for their underrating of the legal definition of crime and the endeavor to facilitate the research work by substituting a social concept to the legal concept of crime.

Criminology is interested in the etiology of crime and the psychology of the criminal. These are legal concepts no matter how different the social manifestations covered by the same legal label may be. While law discriminates according to the gravity of the act it ignores the possible sociological diversities in which criminology is mainly interested. The correlation between crime as a legal, sociological, and a psychological phenomenon is undeniable. We should give up the enticing illusion that the study of crime and criminals could ever produce exact results such as are arrived at in the natural sciences.

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TREATMENT OF THE PSEUDO-SOCIAL BOY.
RUTH TOPPING. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 13:353-360. April, 1943.

The pseudo-social or "gang" boy may be considered to be socialized within the delinquent group. His attitude toward society is not dissimilar to that of the asocial or unsocialized boy but he differs from him in that he adheres to a well defined code which exists among the gang. Loyalty, generosity,

daring, self-reliance, initiative, and resourcefulness are some of the virtues of the code. The pseudo-social boy can be characterized by his youthful ardor, love of excitement, desire for independence, and, as a member of a cultural minority group which adopts a way of life which is parasitic and predatory upon our culture. As a group, too, they may be considered more highly socialized than are average adolescents.

Important differences are found also in the limited range of the attachments of the pseudo-social boy. There is less homesickness among them. There is an absence of the "puppy-love" stage. They usually have had extensive contact with police, courts, probation officers, foster homes or private institutions for dependent or delinquent children. They exhibit aloofness, cool self-possession, furtively watchful glances, and a thinly veiled hostility. They often present no disciplinary problems in the training school program as they have been imbued with the idea of "do as the man says" and "take the rap."

Other members of the group are superficial in their settling down. Some run away at the first opportunity. The rebellious element often proves an undermining influence in the institution. They reduce their supposed training to mere custodial care by rejecting the school and doing as little as possible in the school, cottage, or shop.

The procedure at the New York Training School is to consider each boy's case at the end of two months and his case is reviewed each six months by the committee which considers the treatment program and the question of release.

The underlying motivations and mechanisms which contributed to the personality structure of these boys can be considered only from a speculative viewpoint as actual knowledge is limited. The "pretty boy" appearance and their poor school achievement suggests an effort on their part to overcompensate for a sense of effeminacy, or physical or mental inadequacy. The leaders of the groups are aloof and uncompromising. The pseudo-social boy externalizes his conflicts and considers his

stealing as a problem to others and not himself. He lacks a sense of need and the wish to change his life adjustment.

Treatment of this type of boy embraces techniques extending beyond the clinic into the general program of the training school. Care must be exerted in assignment to a cottage. The character and personality of the cottage father have much to do with the complete social adjustment of the boy.

The fundamental socialization of the pseudo-social boy and his capacity for loyalty are the spring boards toward wider adjustment. The maturing process, the treatment he receives, and the influence of other persons upon him may determine whether he shall join the ranks of crime or of the armed forces.

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INFANT REARING AND PROBLEM BEHAVIOR.

WILLIAM GOLDFARB. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 13:249-265, April, 1943.

There has been considerable conflict between those social workers who advocate institutional care for infants and those supporting foster home care. The latter believe the institutional care to be inherently sadistic, regimented, ritualized and depriving. The former contend that the supposed love of the foster mother for the foster child is frequently fictional. Experience has indicated to most child care workers that both kinds of tutelage are needed depending on the individual child and his family situation. It is probable, however, that no matter how well either type of placement is organized, there will be some children who are more effectively reared in one arrangement better than in the other.

The questions arise, when planning for dependent infants which form of care should be used, are the results of care equally favorable or unfavorable, does it matter which kind of care is offered to this age group.

Lowrey found that, in a group of twenty-eight children placed in boarding homes after three years of institutional experience, "the conclusion seems inescapable that infants reared in institutions undergo an isolation type of experience with resulting isolation type of personality, characterized by unsocial behavior, hostile aggression, lack of patterns for giving and receiving attention, inability to understand and accept limitations, much insecurity in adapting to environment, etc." Another investigator summarized his data with the tentative hypothesis that children with institutional experience in infancy present more severe problems than those in the foster home population.

The present investigation proposed to study some aspects of social and personal adjustment of foster children as these relate to their rearing experience during the first three years of life. The influences on later adjustment of two different kinds of infant experience, institution and foster home, are contrasted. Since the problem was to compare the adjustment of institution children with that of foster home children, the two groups were equated within three months on the basis of both age and length of time under care. A minimum chronological age of six years was set thus allowing three years for institution children who were placed in foster homes.

In the initial investigation, twenty institution children were contrasted with twenty foster home children. The results were so interesting that these totals were increased to forty in each case.

Tentative conclusions indicate that: the foster home children tend to show less of the various kinds of problem behavior, foster home children tend to exceed institution children in behavior problems such as withdrawal and anxieties related to intra-family relationships, institution children show a greater frequency of overtly anxious and aggressive problems, institution children seem to be markedly characterized by the need for adult attention, the institution children on developing problem behavior show an attacking and aggressive trend, while foster home children

show the same trend the have an "escape" pattern which reduces it, the quality of the intellectual speech and educational performance of the institution children was inferior; none of the forty institution children are symptom free, while thirteen of the forty foster children are; the institution children are more frequently characterized by problems of restlessness, hyperactivity, inability to concentrate, restlessness in sleep, craving for affection, sensitivity, attention getting behavior, selfishness in play and lack of popularity with other children, disobedience, temper display and stealing. All these observations indicate that it is more favorable to use foster homes than institutions for dependent babies.

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INDIVIDUAL AND MASS BEHAVIOR IN EXTREME SITUATIONS—PROBLEMS OF INTERNMENT CAMPS. BRUNO BETTEIHEIM AND CURT BONDY. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 38:417-452, 1943.

The close approximation in theme, style and experience, offered by these two independent contributors, permits of a unity of interpretation and criticism; indeed one supplements the other. The first author was a social investigator by training, the second, a former jailor and superintendent of prisons, who thus by the strange whirligig of time, came to "sample life from within", when political ideologies happened to have changed. While the former article concentrates on the subjective experience, when men are used as training papulum for a school of guards or laboratory, the latter offers some specific suggestions from his experience, e.g. the running of new camps perhaps in the interests of the persecutors themselves, when once the tables are turned. Neither can resist little sallies of satisfaction at such wish-fulfillment. But these contributions, rare for the objectivity and impartiality they

show, and the degree of dissociation (detachment) they have attained, are invaluable indicators in a contemporary documentary of human conduct, alike of oppressor and oppressed.

Probably guards are the same all over the world, and (despite night-school) have not changed significantly through the ages. The reasons that guide a man to beat his fellow or boss over others, call forth much the same material and much the same rationalisations the world over. Both articles are however (and in the best sense), typically German in their scheme of values, attitudes and concerns, but universal in believing that incarceration acts "as a means of producing changes in the prisoners which will make them more useful subjects of the . . . state" (p419). Subsidiary aims were thought to be: to break the individual as such, to spread terror, to use them as experimental labs, and as a training ground for the elite.

Clinical material covered homosexuals, conscience folk, communists, the workshy and ("only a small minority" till the war) Jews; the sort of people in fact we would expect to find in any penal settlement in addition to purely political cases. The authors claim to have interviewed some 900 at one camp and 600 at another. One purpose of investigation was to kill time, ". . . pondering . . . for hours (while) performing exhausting labor which did not ask for any mental concentration"; it also thereby helped preserve sanity.

There is indicated at once the 'welcome' given to new comers during transport and initiation, when hooliganism apparently runs riot, and the guards invent their own rules and punishments, both of which are puerile in the extreme, but none the less severe as torture to the more sensitive intellectuals over which the ill-lettered at last had some power. A risible attitude of mind might occasionally have helped lessen its asperity, if men were in any such mood for hilarity, e.g. they were expected "for hours on end" to call their wives prostitutes, to revile the gods, water their pants, accuse themselves of heinous villainies, or else sit for hours on stone, kneel for hours, stand for hours, etc., "after which the

guards became less excited and even talked with their prisoners". It was evidently done to overcome the party members' fear of the more intelligent and of those of the higher social set. Methods of evading the rules and the impossibility of carrying out those of the more imbecilic guards are indicated. I think it was Sassoon who sang "such men have lost all patriotic feeling."

Adapting to the camp was comparable to that of soldiers in the field. As in a disaster, at first 'all is confusion'. Indescribable pandemonium and egotistic behavior prevails, panic modes suited for survival, conflict reigns, "each is for himself". Then comes "the happiness achieved by feeling of a group suffering together," then a stage when the foe has "no longer any authority", the spell of fear and death was broken". Men develop a secret indifference, (dissociation); e.g. dreams did not at once re-echo the harrowing experience; or men become martyrs in the eyes of their fellows. The result of being childishly helpless and inadequate is fostered by the guards. They are ordered around, are castigated by the guards, or insulted pettily; all this adds to their feelings of impotence.

New prisoners adopt attitudes due to their very unfamiliarity and lack of conditioning. They need to react to the *external* world, for the inner world (camp) is still a nightmare to them and unreal. A longer stay 'conditions' them to the newer barbarity, and they shut-off the outside world. The severest breakdowns are always in the first three months. Attitudes to the outside meanwhile show steady disintegration of values, memories and allegiances. Families are blamed, friends accused and relief from the outside is used to maintain contact by nefarious means. The older prisoners use these comforts for better adapting to the *present* situation (inside).

The superimposed infantile pattern of conduct is a function of the gaolers, along with natural regressional tendencies; "as a domineering father might torture a helpless child." They have to *du* each other and the education to cleanliness has once more to be inculcated. Aided by the technique of "stupid tasks", they function indeed like children. Levels

of adjustment are finally achieved by swallowing their pride and their aggression, finding permissive outlet in verbal formulae or passing the buck to others in an effort to curry favor; in this way weeding out the unfit. They come to assimilate the crude values of their guardians (the most pernicious part of any system of custodial care) or find rationalisations for so doing. Only a great revolution would ease their situation; for this they lived.

The reaction of some internees to their initial exposure (in the eyes of an observer) was intensely egotistical, biologically and illogically survivalist and comparable only to that of the master tribe itself; as illustrated in Harper's—the sinking of the *Bismarck*. The breakdown physically, morally, mentally, there was complete. However an exceptional group, more used to dragooning and self discipline, (20 young boys from a farm) acted more like trained soldiers in resisting mass-suggestion and acting in their own self-interest though still altruistically, and were especially known for their "friendliness and will-*ingness*."

The disruptive effect of all prison life is the social and individual degradation involved. All food takes on an exaggerated importance; talk is more of smut and sex, and the resulting isolation leads to cynicism, in lieu of affect. Envy and hate loom large, drinking and gambling increase, in the "indeterminate sentence" implied and the resulting uncertainty of the future life. Suggestions for the future include early dissolution of these 'sinks' with the allied liberation, and their transitory replacement by *centers* on democratic lines, where skilled help in the fields of medicine, sociology, economics and psychiatry will eventually rehabilitate and reinstate those unhappy remaining internees.

Finally the vast "European internment camp" and its potentialities for usefulness can best be studied in advance by research on prisoners-of-war here, to know something more of the mentalities we have to deal with. There remains however the impression of two sensitive souls behind all this, struggling

in futility against the dragooning, the disciplining and the atrocities committed in private in the name of Order. Perhaps *mutatis mutandis*, the same obtains throughout the civilised world, hence the value for humanists of this level-headed, impersonal exposé.

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identifies on the basis of personal characteristics, the Truant group negatively identifies on the basis of activity or behavior; (5) the Truant group would most like to spend its time in sports, adventure and recreation; the Theft group prefers work; (6) the Truant group dislikes work in general, the Theft group dislikes particular types of work; (7) the Theft group definitely dislikes being idle; the Truant group express little dislike for complete inactivity.

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WISHES, FEARS, INTERESTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS OF DELINQUENT BOYS. CHILD DEVELOPMENT. G. S. SPEER. 8:289-294, 1937.

The author feels that an assumption can be made that "the largest factor in determining the type of delinquent act would be the sort of conflict and maladjustment which the individual is expressing." This paper attempts to investigate the hypothesis that differences in type of delinquency should be matched by differences in the desires, wishes, ideals and goals of the individuals involved. A questionnaire was devised which was intended to reveal the direction of the individual's wishes, fears, identifications, and interests. The population for the study consisted of 100 boys aged 11 to 15, mean age at 13.2. Forty-eight were committed to the Berkshire Industrial Farm for truancy from school and absconding from home; 52 were committed for petty theft. The I.Q. ranges were from 63 to 140, mean at 97. No significant differences between the two groups in age or intelligence was evident. On the basis of the results obtained with the questionnaire, the author draws the following conclusions: (1) the Truant group is much more interested in becoming a person of importance; the Theft group is much more interested in congenial activity; (2) the Theft group is afraid of failure, the Truant group of personal injury; (3) the Theft group identifies itself with heroes or famous people because of their activity or occupation, the Truant group identifies on the basis of the personal characteristics and fame of the individual; (4) the Theft group negatively

YOU AND YOUR DELINQUENTS. H. C. BURGONNE. *Wilson Library Bulletin*. 18:435-441, February 1944.

Some of the contributing factors in the growth of the problem of juvenile delinquency include: a general insensitivity to evil, immaturity of the public mind, and a tendency among all classes to worship dollar values rather than human values. Juvenile delinquency grows out of conditions and attitudes established and maintained by institutions whose purposes are supposed to be to correct these same attitudes and conditions. The question is whether institutions have failed in their purposes or are they without purpose.

Among the various institutions which should have a definite purpose we find the library. Few librarians, however, have accepted the responsibilities adult and juvenile delinquency have thrust upon them. Some have made an effort in this direction but altogether they are a definite minority. The attitudes of librarians toward the problem of delinquency can be expressed as those of no effort, too little effort, subverted purposes, defeatist attitudes, or complete disinterest.

A suggested program for librarians relative to this subject embraces a program which is up-to-date; informing the public of the purpose of the library; engaging in an extensive publicity campaign; making the library an attractive place; holding regular meeting with church groups, police

officers, council members, school teachers, social workers, etc., on problems of delinquency; getting to know the people of the community they serve; conducting mass parent education forums; providing books to parents on child care, child training, juvenile delinquency, and crime prevention; supplying information to courts and child guidance clinics on problem children; preparing bibliographies on crime, probation and parole, etc., for the use of probation, court, and clinic people; sponsoring trained librarians and adequate libraries for prisons and training schools; visiting prisons of their state to become better informed of the problems of crime and relay these to parent groups; supporting recreational facilities in the community; allowing national youth-group organizations to use their facilities; providing vocational guidance; providing information to schools on remedial reading cases; emphasizing class visits to libraries; providing story hours; providing classes in correct moral conduct, value of ethics, the need for principles, and the growth of ideals; the idea of librarians serving as probation officers with the children on probation reporting to them rather than to the court.

This program suffers from subjectivity inasmuch as the author is now serving time in a state's prison. However, he feels that by making the most of what the librarian has available and with effort, the program can be made to work.

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THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND SEX EDUCATION.
EDNA M. CARLSON. *Journal of Social Hygiene*, 29:353-370, June 1943.

The public library is an excellent co-operative agency for sex education. The library's responsibility is different from that in which books contribute to community welfare. Sex as a subject for discussion is no longer prohibited either legally or by the force of public opinion. The layman who attempts to borrow books not

in his public library finds new sources of supply. Rental libraries do not, as a rule, offer books on the subject. Books in schools and college libraries are not available to adults. Private collections maintained by clubs, churches, and other organizations are circulated to members only.

The most authoritative book list on the subject of sex education is that found in the *Social Hygiene Bookshelf*. There is such a heterogeneous lot of sex education books on the market that selection and evaluation are of paramount importance. Sex education books may be divided into three categories. Those published before 1925 are stilted, sentimental, evasive discussions of biology and physiology. Those from 1925 to 1935 are more frank and scientific but chiefly centered around genital physiology and hygiene. From 1935 to date the books reflect the current conception of sex as but one subject among others important in the socialization of the individual. The current books approach the subject from a biological, physiological, sociological, psychological, ethical or religious standpoint, or all points may be integrated in one book.

Books on sex education must be of a non-technical nature, written by an authority, emphasize behavior, deal with sex as a normal phenomenon. Some aids for the selection of these books are found in: the A.L.A. catalog, The Booklist, the Standard Catalog, Social Hygiene, Bookshelf, Hygeia, and Parents' Magazines. (Abstractor's note: lists of sex education books for parents and children, prospective parents, and of general interest to adults are presented.)

Circulation procedures would include: placing the books on the open shelves, recognition of possible criticism and providing for reducing it to a minimum, the problem of marginal pornographic notes being written in the books by perverts must be kept in mind and an examination of the pages made, and provision against theft. Word-of-mouth publicity will insure constant use of the books.

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CRIME CAUSATION. ALBERT MORRIS. *Federal Probation*. 7:17-20. July-September, 1943.

In discussing crime causation, the author points out the necessity of analyzing specific crimes rather than the combination of social factors which we are prone to consider the causes of criminal activity. Concrete illustrations of violations of the law raises the pertinent question as to why specific laws are violated by specific people and not by others. The answer involves differences in religion, vocational competency, mentality, and family cohesion.

In recognizing that there are usually a combination of factors which are referred to as the causes of crime, it must also be understood that there are not fixed objects and that unfavorable environments may differ radically from one another, that the unfavorable influences of these environments may be direct opposites. Thus it is that when culture conflict, for instance, is spoken of as a contributing factor to delinquency, this term in itself must be broken down into its component parts.

In determining the causation, the role of the individual and his mental and physical relationship to those things about him cannot be overlooked. The author points out that subjective reasoning on the part of the individual and his interpretation of external situations really determine his behavior regardless of what the true facts of any situation may be. The achievements of the criminal and non-criminal may be identical, the differences being in the way these achievements are gained. Ignorance of socially acceptable procedures may be advanced as the cause for this behavior. Or, on the other hand, the desires and wants on the part of the individual may be so overwhelming as to cause him to place a low value on social conformity. Also, organic factors such as defective reasoning and rationalization of activity must be recognized.

Sociologists in interesting themselves in the nature and interrelation of human

groups, point out that these groups have a definite influence upon an individual's choice of behavior. Economic and other interdependencies have caused the creation of a culturally dependent rather than a biologically inherited basis for getting along together. This means, of course, such codes as Federal and State laws, and municipal statutes, as well as racial and church taboos. The influence of the aforementioned depend primarily upon the assimilative capacity of the individual and also upon the clarity, consistency, and the ability of these codes to satisfy man's need and public acceptance.

Complexities of present-day laws contribute on many occasions to unconscious illegal activity. Religious differences and the gradual decrease of the influences of religion upon the activities of man have eliminated to a large extent religion as a guide to conduct in these days of complicated business arrangements. Progress and advancement, when coming into conflict with older ways of behavior, are quite likely to ride roughshod over such traditional activities. The conflict between the old and the new enables the possibility of choice to the individual, and gives him an opportunity to choose whatever behavior may be best suited to his own innate desires. Likewise, because of this conflict, the individual is less subject to disapproval by his associates.

The author concludes in suggesting a reintegration of some of the conflicting parts of our cultures and a re-establishment of strong and generally accepted standard of values as a guide and support to acceptable conduct. This would mean a revision and reorganization of our moral codes so as to make them more nearly adequate and serviceable for our daily needs.

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E-Medicine & Biology

INCIPIENT NEUROSYPHILIS IN AN INDIVIDUAL OF PARANOID AND EPILEPTOID CONSTITUTION ACCUSED OF HOMICIDE. GUILLERMO URIBE CUALLA. *Revista de Medicina Legal de Colombia* 5: 27-28, 57-67, August-December 1942.

A detailed and complete report of the author's psychiatric study of a homicidal offender is presented together with the conclusions reached. The patient had previously been examined by two experts in the field of legal medicine who concluded that he was "an extremely dangerous maniac who should be incarcerated and watched constantly." However, the Judge referred the case to Dr. Cualla of the Medico-Legal Institute of Bogota in order to confirm the findings before committing the offender to a mental institution.

Dr. Cualla's re-examination through which he arrived at a diagnosis of "incipient neurosyphilis in an individual of paranoid and epileptoid constitution" is reproduced in full together with excerpts from the previous examination so that the reader can judge the differences for himself. The study included complete somatic and physical examinations, a neurological series including tests of muscular strength and reflexes, psychological and psychiatric study.

The patient is described as 22 years old, of short stature and 60 kilograms in weight. His cranial index corresponds to that of a *dolicocephalic* and other anthropological measurements classified him as of the *pyknic* type according to Kretschmer's morphological scheme.

The patellar reflexes were exaggerated but the tendinous reflexes of the forearms were normal. Romberg was negative. Marked tremors of the hands and tongue were evident. His pupils were miotic but reacted well to light and accommodation. There was no restriction of the visual field. With the hand dynamometer, his strength of grip was 80 with the right hand and 40 with the left hand. Blood pressure was 120 maximum,

70 minimum and the heart sounds were normal.

When the examiner pressed firmly on the eyeballs to test the *oculocardiac reflex*, the pulse rate of 72 was slowed down to 44 per minute and there was pain, tearing, and marked dizziness. Further details of the neurological are presented in the paper itself.

The gastrointestinal, respiratory, and genito-urinary systems were essentially normal except for a small fistula of the penis. All sense organs were normal.

The subject cooperated well in the psychological examination. He was quiet, agreeable and docile and had a slow reaction time. He displayed some euphoria, his introversion did not reach schizothymic levels, and he was well oriented but easily fatigued. His tachistoscopic responses were adequate.

Serious lapses of memory were noted. Even his recall of emotionally tinged occurrences was vague and confused. He displayed the so-called phenomenon of *Cryptomnesia* in which some memories (those connected with the crime) stood out markedly over others. His memory for recent events was very poor. He was deficient in perception of colors, sounds, and elementary sensations.

He was unable to intellectualize or rationalize his emotional responses. A test of emotionality revealed potential emotions of violent and paroxysmal proportions which were dissociated from and not proportionate to the intensity of the stimulus. The psychic processes were suddenly obliterated for 5 minutes under the influence of adrenalin. The debility of the subject's nervous system was illustrated by the strong inhibitory effect of adrenalin on its functioning.

The examinee showed a marked tendency to associate by assonance and contiguity rather than by character or essence. His associations are marked by primitive tendencies infantile reactions, and emotional contamination. His responses on the free association test (Jung) are banal, monotonous, illogical, and

strongly tinged by emotional coloring. The marked dissociation between temporal and spatial associations indicated a progressive intellectual deterioration possibly of organic etiology.

On the Binet tests, he was very poor in judgment and reasoning, logical thinking, analysis and synthesis as well as discriminative capacity. This plus the wide scatter is considered as illustrative of grave psychic alterations which could be symptomatic of an organic impairment of the nervous system. His weak voluntary attention, erroneous ideas, emotional instability, poor mental imagery control, all confirm the picture of a uniform and *global decline* in all his mental mechanisms approaching frank pathology. There are clear signs of *sub-confusional* state (2nd degree) which can be diagnosed as evidence of an incipient organic involvement of the nervous system when considered in the light of the laboratory findings.

In his drawings and writings, the patient places undue emphasis on precision, is pre-occupied with details, has innumerable irrelevant lines and markings, as if he was anxious not to let anything escape him. This is interpreted as a subconscious translation of the struggle between his attention and his inability to adequately synthesize the details into a meaningful Gestalt.

The defendant was a bachelor and had attended public schools. His employment history included numerous jobs in pharmacies and in the homes of agriculturists. A significant item in his personal history was a psychotic episode which the patient suffered in Cali which lasted over one year. At that time he was very violent, broke some bars of the jail, had attempted to set fire to two important buildings, but he now has a complete amnesia for these events.

The subject has experienced typhoid fever, whooping cough, blennorrhagia, and a primary syphilitic chancre. He had received some venereal treatment in Cali. His blood Wasserman, Kahn reaction, cerebro-spinal fluid and colloidal benzoin tests were all positive at the time of examination.

The patient's mother died at 65 years of age of gastro-intestinal illness. His brother suffered epileptic attacks. A sis-

ter was considered degenerate and another brother was very impulsive having on one occasion, struck his father with a cutlass. The father has a history of alcoholism.

Dr. Cualla, in his psychiatric summary, describes the accused's eccentricity in dress and appearance. The offender's paranoid ideas are illustrated by his assertions that women were easily enamored of him and that he was the idol of the feminine sex. He also boasted about the perfection of his drawings, the fineness of his prose writings, and what he referred to as his great poetry but which was really a series of bizarre combinations of words. Actually he was completely lacking in literary ability. He also imagined himself a superior intellect and cultured person. His megalomania and delusions of grandeur were further evidenced in that he constantly declared that he should be lent to the National Government for an important post in the army so that he could revolutionize the country's defense plans and also invent an important aviation device. When subjected to sustained questioning, he displayed a marked *logorrhea*, talking irrelevantly about his great achievements.

Concerning the homicide of which he was accused, the patient, when he was first questioned, related with great precision many of the events of the day of the crime but omitted the fact that he had stabbed a woman who subsequently died. In the second inquiry when he was asked to identify the weapon which was stained with blood, he admitted the crime. Now, after several months, he recites the crime in great detail, states that he only defended himself and had no intention of killing the victim, and that he does not regret her death because she was a bad woman and was venereally infecting all those who had intimacies with her. The patient had a complete amnesia for his previous psychotic episode in Cali.

He becomes intensely emotional over his devotion to his mother and his patriotic feelings for his country. He describes the death of his mother in illogical and incoherent sequence and tells of having visited her body when he escaped from jail. His symbolic drawings made in jail are strongly amorous in nature. His ex-

aggerated emotionality is quite evident when he asserts that he is a perfect man, doesn't harm anybody, very honorable, and a good son to his parents. He becomes irritable and explosive when he declares that he is very masculine and robust, that various acquaintances have commissioned him to make amorous drawings for them, and that some have refused to pay him. He curses these people loudly and punches them for not keeping their promises. He insists that he will plead his own case in court, that lawyers are untrustworthy and sly, only out for money, but do not help. His alteration between viscous sluggishness and extreme explosiveness of the feelings and effects in characteristic of the epileptoid constitution.

Dr. Cualla concludes that the patient is of paranoid and epileptoid constitution who previously had an attack of acute mania. He notes a marked deficiency in the prisoner's psychic faculties manifested in a *subconfusional state*. The positive results of the serological reactions of the blood and of the cerebro-spinal fluid, prove the existence of an incipient neurosyphilis which is the cause of the psychic disturbances. The author recommended that the patient should be committed to a mental asylum for observation and adequate treatment to protect society.

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THE EFFECT OF MORPHINE UPON THE RORSCHACH PATTERN IN POST ADDICTS.. RALPH R. BROWN. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 13:339-342. April 1943.

No studies under controlled conditions have appeared on the psychological state produced by morphine. Verbal reports of addicts on the effects of this drug tend to confuse rather than to clarify our understanding of morphine action. Laboratory studies have been made of the effects of morphine on such functions as simple and choice reaction time, sensory thresholds, memory and suggestibility; studies concerned with more general personality

patterns are lacking. This study presents an attempt to obtain a picture of the effects of morphine on certain basic patterns of personality as demonstrated by the Rorschach technique.

The Rorschach test was administered to twenty-two post-addict patients who had abstained from morphine for at least six months. It was administered under both morphine and non-morphine conditions. To equalize the effects of retesting, half of the patients were given the first Rorschach after morphine administration with a re-test a month later under non-morphine conditions. The opposite procedure was followed with the other half. The patients were given morphine in sufficient amounts to produce an euphoric condition. The initial dose was never more than 30 milligrams. If the patient was not getting the right feeling the dose was increased in steps of 20 milligrams until the desired effect was achieved. The average dose was 34 milligrams with a range of from 15 to 70. None showed any signs of illness during the association period of the test, one vomited during the investigation period.

The results indicate that: the fundamental personality pattern remains the same, under both conditions the rare details were emphasized at the expense of the wholes and major details; the F plus and animal percentages were relatively high and organizational energy was low; under morphine the number of responses was increased from an average of 28.4 to 34.1, responses concerned with human movement showed a greater increase, color responses showed an increase particularly the F C determinant, but the predominant trend was in the direction of M 7 C. It appears that intellectual control, originality, and organizational energy are not significantly affected by morphine. Neurotic signs are decreased under morphine. Animal movement, object movement, F per cent, texture, vista, and diffusion were not significantly affected as determinants. While animal and object movement increased slightly following morphine, the differences were not reliable statistically.

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NARCOTIC DRUG ADDICTION; A SYMPTOM OF HUMAN MALADJUSTMENT. J. D. REICHERT, M. D. *Diseases of the Nervous System* 4:275-281 September 1943.

The author is of the opinion that much of the confusion and lack of understanding concerning the problem of drug addiction is due to looseness and laxity in the use of terms. The principal terms to be defined are: (1) Addiction (2) Habit Formation and Habituation (3) Tolerance (4) Narcotic Drugs (5) Narcotic Drug Addicts (6) Physical Dependence and (7) Abstinence Syndrome.

Addiction involves many types of activity. It is the loss of power of self control with reference to some practice or substance to the extent that physical or mental adjustments are interfered with to the detriment of the addict or of society.

Habit Formation and Habituation pattern our whole life. When these interfere with a satisfactory adjustment they become pathologic.

Tolerance designates the fact that after a drug had been used for some time, the amount taken must be increased in order to obtain the original effect.

Narcotic Drugs are all derivative of opium such as morphine and heroin and including such preparations as papavarine and narcotine; cocaine; Indian Hemp, usually called Marijuana, and Peyote.

Narcotic Drug Addict is a person who so habitually uses any of the narcotic drugs as to endanger the public morals, health, safety or welfare, or is or has been so far addicted to its use as to have lost the power of self control with reference to his addiction.

Physical Dependence is the physiological change produced when a person has taken a considerable amount of Opium or one of its derivatives for considerable period of time. Such a person becomes physically ill if the administration of the drug is discontinued or the dosage of the drug is drastically reduced.

Abstinence Syndrome is the symptom complex which appears when a person with physical dependence undergoes a drastic reduction in his dosage.

There are two types of narcotic drugs. They differ from each other in their action; one the opium group, tends to quiet,

allay and postpone activity including the anti-social. The members of the other group, cocaine, marijuana and possibly peyote, act to release repressed tendencies and to create disturbing anti-social activity in those who are basically anti-social. Their use, particularly the opiates is dangerous for two reasons. These are: (1) the rapid development of tolerance and (2) the parallel development of physical dependence. Unlike the alcoholic who can and frequently does stop drinking without becoming physically ill the opiate addict cannot do so. He is faced with severe physical suffering if he attempts to discontinue the use of the narcotic. Without assistance he finds it practically impossible to get rid of his physical dependence.

The treatment of addiction falls into four main categories. These are as follows: (1) control of the addict (2) relief of physical dependence (3) correction of emotional and social maladjustment, and (4) placement after discharge and proper follow up.

Control of the addict is essential for treatment. The period of adjustment to life without the use of narcotics is a very trying one and many addicts cannot go through it voluntarily. Only within a controlled environment, be it a correctional institution, a private or a public hospital can physical dependence be relieved as safely and as humanely as possible.

The most difficult part of the program will be character rehabilitation. Like the treatment of all personality maladjustments, a multiple approach to the problem must be made, for addiction to any practice or substance is just one aspect of the problem of human maladjustment. Not only external environment but also internal environment must be investigated to explain such misbehavior. Tension is an abnormal condition of internal environment which has been found in many individuals who could not adjust to society or to themselves. Their misbehavior is to a considerable degree an attempt to relieve this tension, which is accompanied by what may be called physiologic unhappiness. Thus the basic problem is one of somato-psychic illness. Remediable physical defects should therefore be corrected, intercurrent disease treated, emotional prob-

lems aerated, family difficulties studied and corrected in so far as possible and an attempt made to find what leads the patient to crave for narcotics.

Prognosis is favorable if placed in suitable environment on release. Follow up studies on 4766 patients out of the hospital from 9 months to 5 years showed that 13.5% abstained from drugs; 39.9% relapsed; 7.9% were dead and 39.6% were unknown. In view of the fact that 74.9% were prisoners or probationers we can assume that a considerable portion of the unknown have been cured, in that they have gained sufficient self control to keep out of an legal difficulties.

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THE NARCOTIC AS A CUSTODIAL PROBLEM.
T. B. REICHARD *The Prison World* 5:
12-21.

The Federal Statutes defines a Narcotic Drug Addict as one who habitually uses any habit forming narcotic drug so as to endanger the public morals health safety or welfare, or who is or has been so addicted as to have lost the power of self control with reference to his addiction. Narcotic Drugs, as defined in this Statute are: Opium and its derivatives, the most commonly used being morphine and hereoin; coca leaves and its products, principally cocaine; Indian hemp, more commonly known as marijuana; and peyote.

Addiction may be defined as the pursuit of some practices or use of some substance to such an extent as to interfere with the individual's normal and expected activity. It is a disturbance of the total personality. If an extremely tense person with physiological unhappiness, finds that some procedure or substance will relieve his discomfort and make him feel less abnormal, an addict is in the making. A large number of addicts, particularly drug addicts, are unstable, undependable individuals, the so-called psychopaths. Another group, the neurotics, realize their im-

perfections and inadequacies, but lack self-control to conform to society's standard. The inebriate personality forms a third category. This type can never do anything in moderation, always does so to excess.

Narcotic drug addicts, being unstable and undependable are less able than the normal criminal to keep out of trouble. They exhibit neurotic and psychopathic behavior when incarcerated, and administrators should be aware that misbehavior by these addicts is probably beyond their control and is a manifestation of a diseased mental state. Houses of detention and jails must adopt a realistic and humane attitude toward these addicts. They must realize there is actual physical suffering associated with the abstinence syndrome; and if there is a high degree of such physical dependence, the occasional use of morphine must not be withheld. Adequate and proper treatment should be provided during the withdrawal period. Cruelty and harshness, no matter how unconscious or how unintentional, does not deter the addict from returning to the use of narcotic drugs. To achieve complete reformation the addict's character and personality must be modified.

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ALCOHOLISM IN CHILDREN. REGINALD S. LOURIE. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 13:322-338. April, 1943.

An infant's introduction to alcohol may come with the first breast feeding since it has been shown many times that alcohol taken by the mother is excreted to some degree in the breast milk. It has been shown experimentally that young animals are more profoundly affected by alcohol than are older ones as the blood of the young contains a greater concentration of alcohol than does that of the mature organism. Occasional cases of alcoholism result from the habit of giving infants wine and beer. A dozen countries report through the literature that

cases of alcoholic coma are quite common. Two wine-glassfuls of brandy proved fatal in thirty hours to a boy of seven. Alcohol in moderate amounts given to a group of student athletes produced decreased accuracy and efficiency, and increased the fatigue incident to athletic performance.

The effect of childhood intemperance on later alcoholism has been touched on in the literature. Trotter claimed that early nutritional habits of children particularly if alcohol was a part of the diet was responsible for adult addiction. Shaloo emphasized family alcoholism while Robbins stressed from a psychoanalytic viewpoint the significance of infantile nutritional disturbances. Strecker and Chambers described alcoholism in adults as an attempt to gain a childish state of mind.

This study was made on children up to fourteen years of age. They were cases made available by Bellevue Hospital, Children's Court, and one of the large social agencies in New York City. Twenty

cases of definite alcoholism are considered. They are presented in five groupings of the following categorical arrangements: as means of escape from intolerable intrinsic or extrinsic conditions (7 cases), identification with or aggression against alcoholic adults (4), part of a pattern of delinquency in psychopathic personality associated with latent or overt homosexuality (3), and those associated with psychoses (2).

The mechanism common to practically all of the cases was seeking for love which the child feels has been denied or is desirable. After the emotional need is corrected the drinking persisted in only group 3 and slightly in group 4. Only an apparent and not a real relationship exists between such drinking and habitual alcoholism in these cases as a result of being exposed to alcoholism in their environments.

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Clinical Reports

CHAOS IN SENTENCING YOUTH OFFENDERS,
LEONARD Z. HARRISON. *Report of the
Community Service Society of New
York, New York, N. Y.* 1943, pp 52.

This pamphlet by Mr. Harrison presents selected cases of boys who have come into conflict with the law in New York City, and the irrelevant manner in which these boys are sentenced and remanded for institutional care and training.

The cases as presented are in chronological form, and contain very little descriptive material regarding the offender himself. The lack of coordination between courts in sentencing is pointed out, as well as the absence of any consistent policy in the sentencing of the youthful offender. Overlapping of authority and jurisdiction of various agencies creates confusion and a feeling of hopelessness in the mind of the delinquent who is forced to subject himself to run-of-the-mill treatment, it is pointed out.

This publication, issued in support of

the proposed New York State Youth Correction Authorities Act, despite its mournful attitude, nevertheless presents stimulating and challenging facts pertaining to the sentencing, institutionalization, and after-care treatment of the youthful offenders. That the present method of dealing with these individuals has many points which should be corrected cannot be denied. Lack of responsibility between official agencies is seen as one of the underlying causes of the present difficulty. No one agency is responsible for unified control, and for follow up of an individual youth by means of an uninterrupted administration of a whole course of treatment. The projected Youth Correction Authority plan would unify existing correctional facilities and agencies so as to alleviate this condition.

This pamphlet is recommended to all those individuals interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency and the trend in the treatment of this social ill.

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REPORT OF THE BEHAVIOR CLINIC OF THE
QUARTER SESSIONS COURT, PITTSBURGH,
PA. September 1, 1942- August 31, 1943.
pp-44.

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The Behavior Clinic of the Quarter Sessions Court at Pittsburgh through death lost two outstanding personalities, Judge Ralph H. Smith who established the clinic six years ago, and Judge Andrew T. Park who earlier was District Attorney and who cooperated with Judge Smith in establishing the Clinic. In the *Introduction*, Dr. Edward E. Mayer, Supervising Director, indicates that: the study of personality by the Clinic is more than mere description rather the objective is to present to the court a social, psychological, and psychiatric picture which will contribute to a humane as well as legal disposition of the offenders; sex offenders appear frequently in the Clinic; but the Clinic feels the inadequacy of the work done with this group as most of them are given probation or Workhouse sentences and few obtain treatment for their perverse tendencies be they rape, exhibitionism, paedophilia, or of other category; a law comparable to Public Act No. 165 of the State of Michigan is needed in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—this provides that sex offenders be confined until fully and permanently recovered; the Clinic refuses to make any report unless it can be a full one; the function of the Clinic is strictly limited as it is a diagnostic Clinic in contact with the adult probation officer, the District Attorney's personnel, and the County Jail authorities; an expression of appreciation is extended to the Judiciary Clinic Committee and the Clinic personnel and Staff.

Dr. R. H. Kiefer, psychiatrist, reports that: a total of 394 cases were examined, more tests for syphilis had been administered than during the previous year, there has been a decrease of 12.8% in unemployed cases, there has been a slight increase in sex offenders committed to mental hospitals as insane, the number of insane interviewed also increased, psychopathic cases increased over the previous year (all these increases indicate that more psychotic and abnormal personalities are being referred to the Clinic), after the War the psychiatric division expects an

even greater demand on its limited facilities.

Theoretical aspects of the tests of intelligence and the use of the Bellevue-Wechsler scale from an introduction to the psychologist's (J. E. Harlow, Jr.) report. The report includes three scattergrams on the Bellevue-Wechsler which indicate that the greater the scatter the more deviation from normalcy.

The social service workers, Miss Elizabeth Caldwell and Mrs. Buella Russell, emphasize the integration of their work with the other sections of the Clinic. The reports on sex offenders are confidential inasmuch as the records are not available to the public or social agencies but only to the psychiatrist. Case loads have dropped but because of wartime regulations on gasoline, office interviews have increased. Statistics on the sources of case references are given by townships, boroughs, and cities of the county.

The report also includes case load statistics on: sex, race, type of referral, legal status when referred, by whom referred, source of original request, types of offenses, sex charges, previous arrests, nativity, length of residence in Allegheny county, marital status, religious status, chronological age at time of examination, education, habits, occupation at time of arrest, general physical condition, positive blood tests, psychiatric classification, and dispositions by court.

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BRIEF PSYCHOTHERAPY COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS.
CHICAGO. 1942. Alexander, F. et al.

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It is the merit of Freud's master-mind to have emphasized, for a skeptical generation, the peculiar *timelessness* of the Unconscious, but that serious rapport with it, or depth exploration for purposes of selfunderstanding, has to be conducted in time, and a long time at that! He would have been the readiest to concede a time-saving device, a labor-saving approach to

unravelling of the eternal unconscious, had this been possible, but he was at pains to point the danger, of such work under rushed or hasty conditions.

This booklet preserves the term psychotherapy. We note it is sponsored by the Institutes of Analysis of Boston and Chicago, and has the benefit of some of their most erudite minds.

Their method amounts to this: a serious attempt to discover ways and means of appealing to a wider circle of unhappy people than is at present covered by Analysis, and to evolve a shortcut in therapy, despite the limitations imposed, comparable to lengthier analytic procedure.

The discussions bring out that, though there are no effective changes possible in orthodox analysis, they can draw attention to widening ambits of interest for it, in scientific fields, e.g., the stress on alleviation of psycho-somatic complaints. It is the merit of the Chicago school and of H. F. Dunbar's followers, that these new potentialities for analysis are being sensed in this country, within the realm of what was once considered purely organic medicine, and with far less insistence on the struggles of the psyche, which was Freud's primary concern. The reports of the main speakers can be abbreviated as follows:

Alexander's contribution shows that intensive therapy is possible (after analytic appraisal of the total situation), even in a few interviews. It should permit ventilation of feeling, outburst and discussion, also reasoning out the entire problem. It cannot however give much time for reconstruction and "working through". *A. Johnson* preselects suitable clinical material, (though these important factors cannot always be known in advance), on a basis of five cases; with moderate degrees (1) of ambivalence (2) of succor, seeking (3) of recentness (4) of ego strength and (5) of intellectualising power.

Masserman believes from his study of cats that relaxations and diminished "conflicts" are feasible; and that persuasion 'copy-cat' and working through are effective agents. The main justification for brief therapy, (in the opinion of *Kubie*) is three-fold: to uncover storm-centers, to

secure histories of these conflicts, and to break 'obligatory' symptom-formations. He deals with them by making use of dissociation, hypnagogic reverie and emotional sedation, also by grafting of authority figures. In *Gerard's* hands the technique is designed to give support and dynamic insight, to manipulate the environment and at the same time aid character weaning. *Levine* would consider any method of value which can intellectually clarify the conflict, give emotional support and catharsis, secure transference interpretation, and give prolonged support generally. We must avoid Shenaniganing. Moreover *Kende* favors 3 planes of diagnostic insight; with clinical, genetic and dynamic diagnosis. She purposely delimits herself (1) to conscious levels, (2) correcting reality-imagos, (3) transference interpretation and (4) elasticity in handling. The essential triad in *Romano's* hands is release, avoidance and anxiety provoking therapy. (Ferenczi gave clear indications for this.) For all such brief therapy the rationale seems to be: the greater flexibility secured, better recording, demands for stronger personality in the physician and better teaching facilities; *Alexander* especially emphasizes this. Preselection indicates the following as bad risks: masochistic characters and rigid super-ego formations; while delinquent girls, as a rule, cannot be dealt with by brief psychotherapy (*Fuerst*). Success is most likely if there is ready recognition of need if adjustment previously were good, and there is some integrative capacity, also if the interview can link the symptom with the apparatus used (*Dunbar*). It needs throughout rapport with the doctor (suggestion). Physically the most responsive types are allergy, diabetes, fracture, cardiovascular cases. Finally the author's statistical tables show greatest improvement with psycho-neuroses and G. I. diseases (some forms); results are only fair with psychosomatics, and less so with character disturbances, and are least promising with psychotics.

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